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History of Italy

by

Guicciardini, Francesco

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Franceſco Guicciardini's

HISTORY

OF

The WARS in ITALY.

BOOK XI.

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tians. *Wars between* Cæſar *and the* Venetians, *who are defeated in the* Vicentine.

A. D. 1512. AFTER the Pope was thus delivered out of a moſt calamitous and dangerous Situation by a ſurpriſing Train of ſucceſsful Events, and had obtained the Victory over his Enemies, and recovered and enlarged the Dominions of the Church, it appeared that he had not relinquiſhed his old covetous Pretenſions to the City of *Ferrara*, the Sparks that firſt kindled ſo miſchievous a Combuſtion. And though he was ardently deſirous of turning his Arms againſt the Duke, yet, either becauſe he thought it eaſier to obtain his Ends by way of Accommodation than by War, or truſted more to ſecret Artifices than to plain and open Dealings, he choſe to hearken firſt to the Marquis of *Mantoua*, who ſupplicated him to grant Leave to *Alfonſo d'Eſte* to come in Perſon to *Rome*, humbly to aſk Pardon of his Holineſs, and beg that he would receive him into Favour on any

any honourable Conditions. He was afterwards pleaſed to lend an Ear to the *Aragonian* Ambaſſador, who interceded for the Duke as a Relation by Conſanguinity to his King, *Alfonſo* being born of a Daughter of the old *Ferdinando* King of *Naples*, and becauſe it was more for his Maſter's Intereſt to lay an Obligation on the Duke by ſo great a Favour, than to ſuffer the Church to increaſe its Grandeur by a further Addition of his State. The *Colonna's* alſo were unwearied in their Endeavours for the ſame Purpoſe, as they were become cordial Friends to *Alfonſo*, becauſe the King of *France*, after the Battle of *Ravenna*, having demanded of him *Fabritio Colonna* his Priſoner, the Duke, firſt by denying, and afterwards interpoſing various Excuſes, ſo long delayed to grant the King's Requeſt, till the ſucceeding Revolution of Affairs put it in his Power to give *Fabritio* his Liberty, in the moſt acceptable Manner, without any Compenſation.

A. D. 1512.

Reconciliation mediated between the Pope and the Duke of *Ferrara*.

The Duke then took his Journey to *Rome*, having obtained a Paſs from the Pope,

A. D. 1512. and, for his greater Security, the King of *Aragon*, by his Miniſter, with the Pope's Conſent, paſſed his royal Word for his ſafe Going and Return. After his Arrival the Pope, having ſuſpended his Cenſures, admitted him into the Conſiſtory, where he humbly aſked Pardon, and ſupplicated, in the moſt ſubmiſſive Manner, to be reſtored to the Favour of his Holineſs and of the Apoſtolic See, promiſing for the future to perform all thoſe Duties and Services that belonged to a moſt faithful Feodatary and Vaſſal of the Church. The Pope heard him favourably enough, and appointed ſix Cardinals to treat with him about Conditions of an Agreement, who, after ſeveral Days ſpent in Debates, intimated to him that his Holineſs did not intend in any Manner to deprive the Church of the City of *Ferrara*, which belonged to it by lawful Reverſion; but that he would give him in recompenſe the City of *Aſti*, which, by the Departure of the *French*, being reduced under the Power of the League, the Pope, pretending that all on this Side of the *Po* appertained to the Church, had ſent, though without Effect, the

the Biſhop of *Agrigento* to take Poſſeſſion of it, But *Alfonſo* conſtantly rejected the Propoſal, and from this Demand, ſo contrary to the Hopes that had been given him, and no leſs from what had lately happened at *Reggio*, began to be apprehenſive that the Pontiff artfully amuſed him with Offers at *Rome*, that he might have an Opportunity at the the ſame time to execute ſome Deſign upon *Ferrara*. *A. D.* 1512. Duke rejects the Pope's Offer.

The Pope had invited the People of *Reggio*, who were under no ſmall Apprehenſions from the preſent turbulent Juncture, to follow the Example of *Parma* and *Piacenza*, by putting themſelves into the Hands of the Church; and, that his Sollicitations might have the more Effect, had ordered the Duke of *Urbino*, with ſome Troops, into the *Modeneſe*. *Vitfrùſt* had made the ſame Attempt in behalf of *Cæſar*; for which End he went in Perſon to *Reggio*; and the Cardinal *d'Eſte*, who in the Abſence of his Brother had the Management of his State, knowing that he could not preſerve that City, and judging that it would be leſs pernicious to the

A. D. 1512. Intereſt of his Family that it ſhould come under the Power of *Cæſar*, who had no Pretenſions on *Ferrara*, and in whoſe Affairs a greater Variety might be expected*; adviſed the Inhabitants rather to acknowledge themſelves under the Juriſdiction of the Empire. But they anſwered that they would follow the Example of their Duke, who was gone to wait upon the Pontiff, and not upon *Cæſar*, and introduced into the Town the Troops of the Church, who by their artful Management got Poſſeſſion alſo of the Cittadel, though *Vitfruſt* had put a Garriſon into it. At laſt the *Carfagnana* alſo ſurrendered to the Duke of *Urbino*, who after that returned to *Bologna*, where he diſbanded all his Troops. For the Confederates being highly diſſatisfied with the Pope at his taking Poſſeſſion of *Parma* and *Piacenza*, the Cardinal of *Sion* had cauſed it to be notified to the Duke that the common Enemies being vanquiſhed and overthrown, it was not neceſſary to proceed any farther.

Pope gets Poſſeſſion of *Reggio*.

But

* And conſequently an Opportunity might offer from his Neceſſities, which often conſtrained hm to Alienations, to redeem or purchaſe it out of his Hands; but the Property of the Church was not to be alienated or transferred.

A. D. 1512.

BUT the Duke of *Ferrara*, being under no ſmall Apprehenſions from the Pope's Obduracy, and his poſſeſſing himſelf of *Reggio*, demanded, by means of the *Spaniſh* Ambaſſador and *Fabritio Colonna*, which Noblemen had never left him ſince he came to *Rome*, his Leave to return to *Ferrara*. The Pope ſhewed himſelf reluctant to this Demand, and declared that the Paſs he had given the Duke on account of his Differences with the Church was no Protection againſt his private Creditors, many of whom had demanded Juſtice to be done them. The Ambaſſador and *Colonna* frankly anſwered, that he ought not to perſuade himſelf that they would ſuffer him to break his Faith with the Duke and them. And the next Morning, to prevent any new Obſtacles from the Pope; *Fabritio* mounted on Horſeback, and rode towards the Gate of *San Giovanni in Laterano*, the Duke and *Marc' Antonio Colonna* following at a ſmall Diſtance. At the Gate he found a much ſtronger Guard than uſual, which forbid his Paſſage; but he being too ſtrong overpowered them, and waited

Duke of *Ferrara* flies from *Rome*.

A. D. 1512. waited for the Duke at the Gate, and conducted him ſafe to *Marino*; by which he fully recompenſed him, as is commonly believed, for the Kindneſs he had received of him in granting him his Liberty, ſince none doubted but that the Pope, if he had not been prevented by the *Colonna's*, would have impriſoned him; but now his Paſſage being intercepted by Land, he returned not long after by Sea to *Ferrara**.

DURING theſe Tranſactions the Pontiff, retaining the ſame Enmity that he had before to the Liberty of the *Florentines*, procured, by means of the Cardinal of *Sion*, that the auxiliary Soldiers which they had granted to the King of *France* ſhould be diſarmed and ſtripped. Of theſe Troops thoſe which ſerved in the Army under *Luca Savello*, to the Number of an Hundred

* *Giovio* ſays that he was conducted from Caſtle to Caſtle by means of *Proſpero Colonna*, diſguiſed ſometimes in the Dreſs of a Carrier, ſometimes of a Hunter, ſometimes of a Friar, till he arrived at a Place of Security. *Bembo* tells us that, finding his Return by Land was unſafe, he got into *Puglia*, from whence he paſſed by Sea to *Sclavonia*, and thence to the Mouth of the *Po*, and ſo to his own Home.

Hundred and Twenty Men at Arms, and Sixty light Horſe, the reſt under *Franceſco Torello* remaining in Garriſon at *Breſcia*, had, before the *French* paſſed the *Po*, obtained a Paſs from *Sion*, and the Word of Honour of *Gian Pagolo Baglione*, and of almoſt all the other *Venetian* Commanders for their ſafe Return into *Tuſcany*. But as they were in their Quarters near *Cremona*, the *Venetian* Soldiers, according to the Directions which they had received, fell upon them, and plundered them, with the Conſent of *Sion*, who, as ſome affirm, that the Fact might be committed with the more Safety, had ſent thither Two Thouſand Foot, conſidering that they were quartered with the Regiments of *Trivulzio* and the Grand Shield-bearer of *France*, which, becauſe they were almoſt wholly compoſed of *Italians*, had alſo obtained a Paſs. As ſoon as the Plunder was committed, the Cardinal of *Sion* ſent to *Chriſtophoro Moro* and *Pagolo Capello*, the Proveditors of the Senate, to demand the Booty as belonging to the *Swiſs*; but they refuſing it, and going the next Day to the Camp of the *Swiſs* to confer with *Sion*, were

A. D. 1512.

Perfidious Dealings of the Cardinal of *Sion*.

A. D. 1512. were ſeized and carried as Priſoners before *Jacopo Staffier* their General, and by him conducted to the Cardinal, where they were forced to enter into an Obligation to pay Six Thouſand Ducats in Compenſation for what they had ſeized, his Eminence not chuſing that any others but the *Swiſs* ſhould reap the Fruits of his Perfidy; of which he gave another Specimen by inſiſting that *Nicolo Capponi*, the *Florentine* Ambaſſador, who had retired to *Caſal Cervagio*, and had obtained a Paſs from him, ſhould be delivered up to him as a Priſoner by the Marquis of *Monferrato*.

In the mean time the *Venetian* Senate, deſirous to employ their Strength for the Recovery of *Breſcia* and *Crema*, earneſtly ſollicited the Return of their Forces, which the Cardinal, on Pretence of leading them, in Conjunction with the *Swiſs*, into *Piedmont* againſt the Duke of *Savoy* and the Marquis of *Saluzzo*, who had taken the Part of the King of *France*, would not permit. And that Reaſon afterwards ceaſing by the great Increaſe of the Number of the *Swiſs*, and the Aſſurance that

that the *French* Troops were paſſed beyond the Mountains, the Cardinal would neither give his Conſent nor Refuſal to the Departure of theſe Troops; which was ſuppoſed to proceed from the Inſtances of *Cæſar*, with a Deſign that the Senate ſhould not recover thoſe Towns. But while the *Swiſs* were in *Alexandria*, the *Venetian* Troops on a ſudden departed from *Boſco*, and paſſed the *Po* without any Hindrance to *Cava* in the *Cremoneſe*, the Cardinal, who doubtleſs might have prevented them, conniving at their Departure, as it was ſuppoſed, at the Requeſt of the Pope. The *Venetians* having paſſed the *Po*, divided their Forces, Part of which marched againſt *Breſcia*, and the reſt againſt *Crema*, which Towns were garriſoned by the *French*. The Garriſon of *Breſcia* making a Sally, and attacking the *Venetians* at the Village of *Paterna*, were repulſed within their Walls with the Loſs of above Three Hundred Men*.

A. D. 1512.

Venetians ſeparate from the *Swiſs*.

THE

* The *French* had two Hundred killed, and an Hundred and Fifty taken Priſoners, who were all knocked on the Head by the Peaſants in Revenge for the Injuries they had ſuffered. *Mocenigo*.

A. D. 1512. THE *Swiſs*, now left alone in the Dutchy of *Milan* and in *Piedmont*, employed themſelves in taxing all the Country, being entirely ſecure of the *French*: For the King of *France*, though, out of his intenſe Affection to the Dutchy of *Milan*, he could not diſpoſe himſelf, without much Regret, to leave the Affairs of *Italy* wholly abandoned, was yet conſtrained by Neceſſity to hearken to the Counſels of thoſe who adviſed him to defer his Thoughts on that Head to another Time, and to attend, for that Summer, to the Defence of the Kingdom of *France*, conſidering that the King of *England*, by Agreement with the Catholic King, had ſent by Sea Six Thouſand *Engliſh* Foot to *Fontarabia*, a Town of the Kingdom of *Spain*, ſeated on the Ocean, with a Deſign, in Conjunction with the Forces of that King, to invade the Dutchy of *Guyenne*. Beſides this, he had begun to infeſt the Coaſts of *Normandy* and *Bretany* with a Fleet, to the great Terror of the Inhabitants of the Maritime Parts. And there was no Hopes of regaining the Friendſhip

Friendſhip of *Cæſar*; for by the Report made by the Biſhop of *Marſeilles*, his Ambaſſador to that Prince, he underſtood that he was utterly averſe to a Reconciliation, and wheedled him with Abundance of Hopes, and treated with him about a Multitude of Affairs, with the deepeſt Diſſimulation, for no other End but to gain an Opportunity to oppreſs him before he was aware, or, at leaſt, to give him as it were a mortal Blow, as he boaſted he had done in recalling the *German* Troops from his Service. *A. D.* 1512. King of *France* the Dupe of *Cæſar*.

ITALY then being ſecured, for this Year, from the Arms of the *French*, tho' they were ſtill in Poſſeſſion of *Breſcia*, *Crema*, *Lignago*, the Caſtelletto and Lantern of *Genoa*, the Caſtles of *Milan* and *Cremona*, with ſome other Fortreſſes in the Dutchy of *Milan*, there appeared ſome Signs of a Difference and Diſunion between the Confederates, whoſe Views and Intereſts were very different. The *Venetians* were deſirous to recover *Breſcia* and *Crema*, which were their Due by the Articles of their Alliance, and becauſe they had ſo great Diſſentions between the Allies. First Cauſe.

A. D. 1512. great a Share in the Dangers and Troubles of the War; the Pope alſo was willing to gratify their Deſires. On the other hand *Cæſar*, by whoſe Will the King of *Aragon* muſt at laſt be directed, deſigned to appropriate theſe Towns to himſelf, and beſides to deprive the *Venetians* of all that was adjudged to him by the Treaty of *Cambray*. *Cæſar* and the Catholic King privately treated between themſelves about cauſing the Dutchy of *Milan* to devolve on one of their common Nephews. On the contrary the Pope and the *Swiſs* openly uſed all their Endeavours for the Reſtoration of *Maſſimiliano*, the Son of *Lodovico Sforza*, who after the Ruin of his Father had conſtantly reſided in *Germany*, to his paternal Dignity, according to the firſt Agreement. What induced the Pope was his Deſire that *Italy* might not fall entirely under Slavery to the *Germans* and *Spaniards*; and the *Swiſs* were moved, by the Conſideration of their own Advantage, to wiſh that the State of *Milan* might not be governed by too potent a Prince, but by one who could not ſupport himſelf without their Aſſiſtance. But this Affair

Affair depending almoſt entirely upon them, in whoſe Power that State was, and the Terror of their Arms being in high Reputation, the Pope, to confirm them in their Reſolution, and that he might uſe them on all Occaſions as a Bridle ready at Hand, for reſtraining the Ambition of *Cæſar* and the Catholic King, employed all his Art and Induſtry to gain their Friendſhip. For this End, beſides publicly extolling to the Skies the Valour of the *Helvetian* Nation, and magnifying the Exploits which they had performed for the Welfare of the Apoſtolic See, to do them Honour he preſented them with the Banners of the Church, and beſtowed upon them the very glorious Title of Aiders and Defenders of the Eccleſiaſtic Liberty. A. D. 1512.

ANOTHER Cauſe of Diſſenſion among the Allies was occaſioned as follows: The Viceroy having recruited the *Spaniſh* Troops which after the Defeat at *Ravenna* had all retired together with him into the Kingdom of *Naples*, and put himſelf in Motion to paſs with them into *Lombardy*, Second Cauſe.

A. D. 1512. *hardy*, the Pope and the *Venetians* refuſed to renew the Payment of the Forty Thouſand Ducats a Month, which had been intermitted after the Defeat, alledging that, ſince the *French* were paſſed beyond the Mountains, they were not ſubject to that Obligation, which, according to the Articles of the Confederacy, ceaſed whenever the *French* ſhould be driven out of *Italy*. To this it was anſwered, in behalf of the King of *Aragon*, that the King of *France* could not be ſaid to be driven out of *Italy* while *Breſcia*, *Crema*, and ſo many Fortreſſes beſides were in his Power.

Third Cauſe. BESIDES this, the Catholic King complained together with *Cæſar* that the Pontiff appropriating to himſelf the Rewards of the common Victory, and uſurping what manifeſtly belonged to others, had, on Pretences either counterfeit, or grown obſolete by Length of Time, taken Poſſeſſion of *Parma* and *Piacenza*, Cities that for a long Succeſſion of Years had been held by thoſe who were Lords of *Milan* as Fiefs of the Empire.

A. D. 1512.

THERE appeared alſo among the Allies a Diverſity of Sentiments with reſpect to the Affairs of the Duke of *Ferrara*, the Pontiff being inflamed with the ſame covetous Deſire of acquiring his State, and the King of *Aragon* equally deſirous to preſerve him, and beſides provoked againſt the Pope, as it was ſuppoſed, for attempting to detain the Duke at *Rome*, contrary to his Word given to him. For theſe Reaſons the Pope abſtained for the preſent from moleſting *Ferrara*, waiting perhaps till Affairs of greater Importance were firſt ſettled; in the Determination of which *Cæſar* being willing to intervene, ſent into *Italy* the Biſhop of *Goritz*, who had been appointed for that Expedition ſo long ago as when, after the Battle of *Ravenna*, a Peace was treated of between the Pontiff and the King of *France*, becauſe he was apprehenſive that an Agreement might be concluded between them without any Regard had to his Intereſt; and, though a Revolution ſucceeded in the public Affairs, he continued in his Reſolution to ſend the Biſhop. Fourth Cauſe.

A. D. 1512.

THERE came alſo under Conſideration the Affairs of the *Florentines*, who labouring under Doubts and Suſpicions began to feel the bad Effects of that Neutrality which they had imprudently choſen, and to be convinced that it was no ſufficient Security to rely on the Juſtice of the Cauſe where Prudence was wanting. For in the preſent War they had not offended the Confederates, nor lent the King of *France* any Succours but what they were obliged to furniſh for the Defence of the State of *Milan*, by the Confederacy they had made with him in Conjunction with the Catholic King. They had not ſuffered the *Spaniſh* Soldiers, in their Flight from the Battle of *Ravenna*, to be moleſted in their Dominions, for which the King of *Aragon* with his own Mouth, had returned Thanks to the *Florentine* Ambaſſador. And, what is more, they had entirely gratified his Demands by correſpondent Facts; for after the Departure of the Council from *Piſa*, both his Miniſters in *Italy*, and the King himſelf had offered to their Ambaſſador to be obliged to defend their Republic againſt

Neutrality of the *Florentines* cenſured.

againſt all Aſſaults, provided they promiſed not to defend *Bologna*, nor bear Arms againſt the Church nor favour the *Piſan* Conventicle; which was obſerv'd. But they, being prevented by their civil Broils from chuſing the better Part, neither joined with the King of *France* nor with the Allies; and obſerving Day after Day a Kind of dubious Neutrality, the Reſult of unſteady and broken Counſels, but never coming to an unanimous Reſolution, nor making a public Declaration that they would obſerve it, they highly offended the King of *France*, who had at firſt promiſed himſelf great Aſſiſtance from them, not in the leaſt mitigated the Hatred of the Pope, and ſuffered the King of *Aragon* to enjoy, without any Recompenſe, the Fruits of their Neutrality, which he would gladly have purchaſed by an Agreement. *A. D.* 1512.

THE Pontiff then, ſtimulated by his Hatred of the Gonfaloniere, and by the antient Deſire, inherent in the Popes, of having Authority in that Republic, earneſtly ſollicited the Reſtoration of the Family of the *Medici* to its priſtine Grandeur, the King

A. D. 1512. King of *Aragon* alſo, though his Words to the *Florentine* Ambaſſador did not agree with his Actions, concurring, but not with ſo much Ardor, in the ſame Project, from an Apprehenſion that in caſe of any Movement the Republic would be biaſſed, by the Authority of the Gonfaloniere, in favour of the King of *France*; nay it was ſuſpected that even if the Gonfaloniere were removed, and a free Government inſtituted, the new-created and antient Dependencies on the Crown of *France* would ſway the Commonwealth to the ſame Side. But the Reſolutions to be taken on this Head were reſerved, together with other Points, for the Coming of *Goritz*, with whom the Viceroy and the Miniſters of the other Confederates had appointed a Congreſs at *Mantoua*.

Congreſs at *Mantoua*.

WHILE *Goritz* was on his Journey the Pope ſent to *Florence Lorenzo Pucci*, a *Florentine*, his Datary, and afterwards a Cardinal by the Title of *Santi Quattro*, who, in Concert with the Agent of the Viceroy, ſollicited the *Florentines* to join in the League, and to contribute towards the Expences

Pope's Demands of the *Florentines*.

Expences of the War againſt the *French*. *A. D.* 1512.
This was the Pretext alledged for his Coming, but his real Buſineſs was to explore the Minds of the Citizens. Many Days were ſpent in debating on his Demands, without coming to a Concluſion; the *Florentines* offering to pay a certain Sum of Money to the Confederates, but to the Demand of entering into the League, and declaring againſt the King of *France*, they returned a dubious Anſwer. The Reaſon why they anſwered in general and evaſive Terms was partly an Opinion (which was true) that theſe Propoſals were made with an artful Deſign to enſnare them; in which they were confirmed by the Anſwer made at *Trent* by the Biſhop of *Goritz* to their Ambaſſador whom they had ſent to meet him. For that Prelate, when he was put in mind of the Agreement made with *Cæſar* at *Vicenza*, and ſigned with his own Hand, by which he was bound to defend the *Florentines*, ſeemed to make no Account of it, but aſſured him that the Pontiff had a Deſign to moleſt them, and that *Cæſar*, on their paying him Forty Thouſand Ducats.

A. D. 1512. cats, would deliver them from that Danger. He added that the Confederacy between *Cæſar* and the King of *France* ſtill ſubſiſted; and therefore he adviſed them not to enter into the League till *Cæſar* had acceded to it. The *Florentines* would not have been averſe from purchaſing their Tranquillity with a Sum of Money, had they not doubted that the Authority of *Cæſar* alone, tho' *Goritz* affirmed that the *Spaniards* would conform themſelves to his Will, was not ſufficient to ſecure them from the ill Deſigns of the others; they ſtood therefore in Suſpenſe, that they might with the more mature Advice diſpoſe of their Balm to him who had it in his Power to apply it to their Infirmity. This was perhaps wiſely conſidered; but then it happened that, either through Imprudence, or their uſual Contentions, or too much Confidence in the Militia of their own Dominions, they neglected to provide themſelves with a Body of well-diſciplined Troops, which would have been alway's in readineſs to defend them againſt a ſudden Attack, or at leaſt have ſerved to facilitate an Agreement with the

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Confederates, who would be the more easily disposed to it when they knew it would be difficult to force them into their Terms. *A. D.* 1512.

Spaniards mutiny.

DURING these Transactions the Viceroy at the Head of the *Spanish* Foot arrived in the *Bolognese*, but being in Want of Money, his Troops, disappointed of their promised Pay, ran in so tumultous a Manner to his Tent, threatening to murder him, that he had hardly Time to save himself by flying privately towards *Modena*. Part of these Forces moved towards the Country of the *Florentines*; the rest continued in their Quarters, but lived in a lawless Manner, without Order or Command, till after three or four Days their Spirits were composed by receiving Part of their Arrears, and the Viceroy and all the Troops returned to the Army, which engaged to remain in the same Situation till the Viceroy should have finished his Negotiations at *Mantoua*, where *Goritz* was already arrived. When that Prelate passed through the *Veronese*, the *French* who lay in Garrison at *Lignago*, having

A. D. 1512. having refuſed many Offers from the *Venetians* ſurrendered that Town to him, which they could no longer hold, by Order, as it was ſuppoſed, from *Paliſſe*, who gave the ſame Directions to the Garriſons of the other Towns, with a View to foment the Differences between *Cæſar* and the *Venetians*. But the Garriſon of *Lignago*, tho' provided with a Paſs from *Goritz*, had the Misfortune to be plundered by the *Venetian* Army which lay encamped before *Breſcia*, whither they had returned from *Boſco*, after they had without Difficulty recovered *Bergamo*; but they forbore to beſiege the Town, being prohibited, as it was ſaid, by the Cardinal of *Sion*.

Reſolutions of the Congreſs at *Mantoua*.

In the Congreſs at *Mantoua* it was reſolved that *Maſſimiliano Sforza* ſhould be put in Poſſeſſion of the Dutchy of *Milan*, agreeably to the ardent Deſire of the People, the Conceſſion of *Cæſar* and the King of *Aragon*, and the conſtant Intentions of the Pope and the *Swiſs*; and that the Time ſhould be fixed by the Pope with *Goritz*, who was to go to *Rome*, and treat with his

his Holineſs of confirming the Friendſhip between him and *Cæſar*, and of making an Agreement between *Cæſar* and the *Venetians*, that by means of one common Union the Peace of *Italy* might be ſecured from any future Diſturbances by the *French*. *A. D.* 1512.

In the ſame Aſſembly came under Debate an Undertaking againſt the *Florentines*, which was ſollicited by *Giuliano de' Medici* in his own Name and that of the Cardinal. A Revolution, he ſuppoſed, might be eaſily effected in that State thro' the Diviſions of the Citizens, many of whom deſired their Return; and by a private Intelligence which, he ſaid, they maintained with ſome noble and powerful Perſonages; and becauſe the *Florentines*, having Part of their Men at Arms diſperſed in *Lombardy*, and the reſt confined in *Breſcia*, had not a Force ſufficient to defend themſelves againſt any ſudden Attack. He laid before the Aſſembly the Conſequence which, beſides the Money offered, would reſult from their Reſtoration, which would be, the Taking the Power

Reſtoration of the *Medici* ſollicited.

A. D. 1512. Power of *Florence* out of the Hands of one who intirely depended on the King of *France*, and committing it to the Management of Perſons who, being injured and abuſed by that King, would acknowledge no other Dependence and Alliance but that of the Confederates. He was ſeconded in the Name of the Pope by *Bernardo da Bibbiena*, afterwards a Cardinal, who was deputed by the Pope for this very Purpoſe, and had been educated with his Brothers from their Childhood in the Family of the *Medici*.

At the Congreſs was ſent to the Biſhop of *Goritz*, *Giovan Vittorio Soderini*, Ambaſſador of *Florence*, a Lawyer, and Brother to the Gonfaloniere; but nothing was ſaid to him, or demanded of him, by the Viceroy, or in the Name of the League. The Biſhop only repreſented to him the Danger, and adviſed him to agree with *Cæſar* by complying with his firſt Demand, on which Condition he offered that *Cæſar* and the King of *Aragon* ſhould take the *Florentines* under their Protection. But the Ambaſſador, having no Authority to

to conclude an Agreement, could only make his Report to the Republic, and expect their Anſwer, while in the mean time he, neither by himſelf nor by others, made any Applications to the Viceroy, nor uſed any other Means to fruſtrate the Propoſals of the *Medici*. The Enterprize was however attended with many Difficulties in itſelf; for the Viceroy's Army was not ſo ſtrong as to induce him to try its Force without Neceſſity; and *Goritz*, to prevent the *Venetians* from recovering *Breſcia*, or making any further Progreſs, was deſirous that the *Spaniards* ſhould march with all poſſible Speed into *Lombardy*. It was believed therefore that if the *Florentines* had laid aſide their niggardly chaffering about the Price, as the imminent Danger required, and conſented to give to *Cæſar* the Money he had demanded, and made a Preſent of a handſome Sum to the Viceroy, who was in extreme Neceſſity, they might eaſily have diverted the Storm; and that *Goritz* and the Viceroy would perhaps have been more forward to come to an Agreement with the *Florentines*, who, they were ſure, would

A. D. 1512.

III Parſimony of the *Florentines*.

A. D. 1512. would be careful to diſcharge their Obligations, than with the *Medici*, who had nothing to give them before they were reſtored by the Force of Arms to *Florence*. But, either through Careleſſneſs, or the Malignity of Men, the Cauſe of that City being in a manner wholly abandoned, it was reſolved that the *Spaniſh* Army, attended by the Cardinal and *Giuliano de' Medici*, ſhould turn their March towards *Florence*; and that the Cardinal, whom the Pope in this Expedition had declared Legate of *Tuſcany*, ſhould call to his Aſſiſtance the Soldiers of the Church, and thoſe of the neighbouring Towns whom he thought fit for his Purpoſe.

Viceroy marches againſt the *Florentines*.

THE Buſineſs of the Congreſs being diſpatched, the Viceroy returned into the *Bologneſe*, and immediately put his Troops in Motion againſt the *Florentines*, who having not been before appriſed of what was reſolved at *Mantoua*, had very little Time to make the neceſſary Proviſions for their Defence. The Viceroy near the Frontiers was joined by the Cardinal, who had brought with him from *Bologna*

two

two battering Pieces of Cannon, of which the *Spaniards* were quite unprovided. The Cardinal came attended by *Franciotto Orſino*, and the *Vitelli*, Commanders of the Church; but without their Regiments, which, with the other Troops of the Church, were ſtopped by the Duke of *Urbino*, who, tho' he had maintained *Giuliano de' Medici* ſome Years in his Court, and had always profeſſed to deſire the Advancement of his Family, yet, whatever might now be the Reaſon, had denied to accommodate the Army with Artillery, or Aſſiſtance of any kind from his Soldiers or Subjects, diſregarding the Pope's Orders, ſignified both to him and to his Subjects of the neighbouring Towns of the Church, by ample Briefs, to aſſiſt them. *A. D.* 1512.

THE Viceroy was no ſooner entered the *Florentine* Dominions than he was met by an Ambaſſador of the Republic, who, after repreſenting to that General the great Reſpect which the *Florentines* had always paid to the King of *Aragon*, and their unblameable Behaviour in this laſt War, and what Advantages the King might

A. D. 1512. might expect from receiving them into his Friendſhip, intreated him, that before he proceeded any further, he would pleaſe to ſignify what he required of them, ſince they were ready to ſatisfy all reaſonable Demands as far as lay in their Power. The Viceroy anſwered, that his Coming was in Purſuance of a Reſolution taken, not only by the Catholic King, but by all the Confederates, for the common Security of *Italy*, conſidering that, while the Gonfaloniere remained at the Head of the Adminiſtration in their City, they could not aſſure themſelves that the Republic would not, on ſome Occaſion or other, declare for the King of *France*. Where-

Demands of the Viceroy from the *Florentines.*

fore he demanded, in the Name of all the Confederates, that the Gonfaloniere ſhould be deprived of his Office, and that ſuch a Form of Government ſhould be eſtabliſhed as would not give Occaſion of Umbrage to the allied Powers, which could not be effected without reſtoring the Cardinal and *Giuliano de' Medici* to their Country. If theſe Demands, he ſaid, were ſatisfied, any other Matters in Diſpute might be eaſily accommodated; and

that

that he might return and make his Report, or by ſome other Way acquaint his Maſters with the Intentions of the General, who in the mean time would not ſtop his March in Expectation of an Anſwer. *A. D.* 1512.

ON Advice that the *Spaniards* were on full march for *Florence*, where it was believed that the Forces of the Pope were to fall upon it from another Quarter, the Government was in the greateſt Conſternation, being under terrible Apprehenſions alſo from the Diviſions among the Citizens, and the Inclinations of Multitudes to a Change. They had but few Men at Arms, and no Foot, but ſuch as were levied in Haſte, or choſen from the Militia, the greater Part of whom had no Experience in War; no General of Note for Valour or Authority, on whom they could depend; and as for the inferior Officers, they were never worſe ſerved in the Memory of Man. They were careful however to make the beſt Proviſions that the Shortneſs of Time would permit, by aſſembling their Men at Arms, who were diſperſed into various Places, and liſting *Florentines* alarmed.

A. D. 1512. Foot, ſuch as could be had, and ſelecting the moſt ſerviceable Companies of the Militia. They reduced their whole Force to *Florence*, for the Security of the City, and to be at Hand for the Defence of thoſe Places which the Enemy might threaten to attack. They were not alſo wanting, tho' late, to attempt an Accommodation; for, beſides their continual treating by their Ambaſſador with the Viceroy *, they wrote to the Cardinal of *Volterra*, who was at *Gradoli* in the Territory of *Rome*, to wait upon his Holineſs, and endeavour, by Offers, by Prayers, and every winning Art, to mollify his Reſentment. But the Pontiff, hardened more than ever, anſwered in Words contradictory to his Actions, that this Enterpriſe was none of his, and that his Troops had no Share in it; but, that he might not give Offence to the whole League, he had been conſtrained to conſent to it, and to give Liberty to the Cardinal *de' Medici* to

* Promiſing him and his Soldiers Preſents and great Pay, and that their City ſhould have the ſame Friends as the confederate Kings ſhould think proper for them to chuſe. *Giovio*

to convey the Artillery from *Bologna*: That he had it not in his Power to obviate the Expedition before it begun, much leſs to put a Stop to it afterwards. A. D. 1512.

THE Viceroy in the mean time was deſcended from the Mountains to *Barberino*, a Town fifteen Miles diſtant from *Florence*, whence he ſent a Meſſage to ſignify that it was not the Intention of the League to make any Alteration in the Government or Liberty of the City, but only to remove the Gonfaloniere from the Magiſtracy for the Security of *Italy*: The Confederates deſired alſo that the *Medici* ſhould enjoy their Country, not as Heads of the Government, but as private Perſons, living under Subjection to the Laws and to the Magiſtracy in all Things conformably to the other Citizens. Propoſals of the Viceroy.

WHEN theſe Propoſals were publiſhed through the City various were the Opinions of Men, according to the Difference of their Judgments, Paſſions, and Fears. Some blamed the Meaſures of thoſe who were for expoſing the whole Body of Ci- Different Opinions of the *Florentines*.

A. D. 1512. tizens and all the Dominions of *Florence* to ſo great a Danger merely out of Regard to a ſingle Perſon, conſidering that by depoſing him from the Magiſtracy the popular Councils and the Public Liberty would not be affected, but might alſo be eaſily preſerved from being violated by the *Medici*, if, while they were diveſted of Reputation and Means, they ſhould offer to exceed the Bounds of a private Station. It ought to be conſidered, they ſaid, by what Means it was poſſible for the City to reſiſt the Forces and Authority of ſo formidable a League; of itſelf it was inſufficient, all *Italy* was againſt them, and there were not the leaſt Hopes of Relief from the *French*, who having baſely abandoned *Italy* were employed in defending their own Kingdom, and conſcious of their own Weakneſs had anſwered to the Demands of the *Florentines*, that they were content they ſhould make an Agreement with the League. Others on the contrary reaſoned that it was ridiculous to imagine that ſo conſiderable a Movement had been made only out of Hatred to the Gonfaloniere, or that the *Medici* might have Liberty

berty to live in *Florence* as private Citizens. No, very different were the Intentions of the Confederates, who had no other End in View than to eſtabliſh the *Medici* in a Tyranny, that they might have the City at their Command, and be able to extort from it a prodigious Sum of Money: That they diſguiſed their Intentions under leſs rigorous Demands, which however were of the ſame Import. For what elſe could be the Meaning of removing, by Menaces and Terror of Arms, the Gonfaloniere at this Time from the Palace, but to leave the Flock to wander without a Shepherd? Or what elſe can ſignify the Entry of the *Medici* amidſt ſo great a Tumult into *Florence*, than erecting a Standard under which may reſort all thoſe who have no other Deſign than to deſtroy the Name, the Memory, and the very Footſteps of the Great Council, the Abolition of which will be the Abolition of Liberty? And how is it poſſible to prevent the *Medici*, attended by a *Spaniſh* Army without, and followed by a Multitude of ambitious and ſeditious Citizens within, from ſeizing on our Liberties on the ſame Day that

A. D. 1512.

A. D. 1512. they ſhall enter *Florence?* It is our Duty to conſider the Conſequences that might poſſibly ariſe from the Beginnings of Things, and from our once giving way to unjuſt and pernicious Demands. Nor ought we to be under ſuch terrible Apprehenſions of Danger as to be unmindful of the Preſervation of the City, and how bitter it will be for one who was born and bred in Liberty to ſpend his Days in Slavery. Let it be remembered with what a generous Ardor for the Preſervation of their Liberty our Citizens oppoſed *Charles* King of *France* when he was in *Florence* with ſo powerful an Army, and let us conſider how much eaſier it will be to reſiſt ſo ſmall a Number in want of Money, without Proviſion of Victuals, with few Pieces of Artillery, and without any Means for ſupporting a War, if we defend ourſelves from their firſt Aſſault. They will be under a Neceſſity to remove in a ſhort Time out of *Tuſcany*, and as they put themſelves in Motion on the Hopes given them by the Exiles of obtaining an eaſy Conqueſt by one ſingle Attack, when they ſhall once meet with a vigorous Reſiſtance, they

they will be glad to come to an Agreement on very honourable Conditions on our Side. Such were the Diſcourſes and Arguments uſed in Circles and in public Places; but the Gonfaloniere chuſing that the Anſwer given to the Meſſenger of the Viceroy ſhould be in Concert with the People themſelves, convoked the Great Council, where before a full Aſſembly of the Citizens he made a Speech to this Effect. A. D. 1512.

Speech of the Gonfaloniere to the Great Council

"HAD I believed, my worthy Fellow-Citizens, that the Demand of the Viceroy was levelled only at myſelf, and had concerned only my own Intereſt, I ſhould of my own Motion have taken that Reſolution which would have been conformable to the Ends I have in View. And as theſe have always kept me ready to expoſe my Life for your Welfare; it would have been much the eaſier for me to abdicate the Magiſtracy which you have conferred upon me, that you might be delivered from the Loſſes and Dangers of War, eſpecially conſidering that during ſo many Years in which I have held this high

A. D. 1512. Station, my bodily Frame and Spirits have been exhauſted and worn out by the continual Troubles and Fatigues. But ſince this Demand may poſſibly import more than what concerns my private Intereſt, it has been thought proper by theſe my honourable Colleagues and by myſelf, that concerning an Affair, in which the Intereſt of every Individual is ſo nearly intereſted, no Reſolution ſhould be taken but by public Conſent; and that a Buſineſs of ſo weighty and univerſal Concern ſhould not be debated by the ordinary Number of Citizens who have uſually the Cognizance of other Matters, but by you, in whom is veſted the Sovereign Power of this City, and to whom alone belong Conſultations of ſuch vaſt Importance. For my own Part, I will not perſuade you to chuſe one Side more than the other; be yours the Counſel, yours the Judgment, whatever you determine ſhall be accepted and approved by me, who now here lay before you not only the Magiſtracy, which is yours, but my Perſon, and my own Life, and ſhould eſteem it a ſingular Happineſs if I could believe that this would be

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the Means of your Preſervation. Examine how much the Demand of the Viceroy concerns your Liberty, and may God give you Grace to illuminate your Underſtanding, and cauſe you to make Choice of the better Part. If the *Medici* had an Inclination to live in this City as private Citizens, in due Subjection to the Ordinances of the Magiſtrates and of your Laws, their Reſtoration would be a laudable Action, ſince it would be the uniting the Members of one common Country into one common Body. But if they harbour other Deſigns, look well to yourſelves, and beware of the Danger, and think it not too much to ſuſtain any Coſts or Difficulties to preſerve your Liberty, the ineſtimable Value of which you will know better, but to no Purpoſe, when, I ſpeak it with Horror! you ſhall be deprived of it. Let not any Perſon perſuade himſelf that the Government of the *Medici* will be exerciſed in the ſame Manner as before their Expulſion, for the Form and Foundations of Things are now changed. At that Time being bred amongſt us they were by Cuſtom become

A. D. 1512.

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A. D. 1512. in a manner as familiar to us as private Citizens, and being poſſeſſed of vaſt Eſtates in proportion to their high Dignity, and affronted by none, they laid the Foundation of their Greatneſs in the Affections of the Citizens, with the principal of whom they conſulted in public Affairs, and endeavoured, under the Cloak of Civility, rather to diſguiſe than to diſplay their Grandeur. But now ſince they have lived ſo many Years out of *Florence*, bred up in ſtrange Cuſtoms, and conſequently of ſmall Inſight into our civil Affairs, mindful of their Exile, and of the Severities uſed towards them, very indigent, affronted by ſo many Families, and conſcious that the greater Part of the People, and even in a manner the whole City, deteſts and abhors a Tyranny, they will have no Conſideration for any Citizen, but, conſtrained by Poverty and Suſpicion, will aſſume and engroſs the Direction of all Affairs to themſelves, eſtabliſhing their Adminiſtration not on the Foundations of Love and Benevolence, but on thoſe of Fear and Force of Arms, in ſuch a Manner that this City will in a very ſhort time be-

become like *Bologna* when under the *Bentivogli*, or like *Siena* and *Perugia*. I was willing to ſpeak this in particular to thoſe who extol the Times and Adminiſtration of *Lorenzo de' Medici*, under whom tho' Circumſtances were hard, and there was really a Tyranny, but milder than many others, yet the Days of his Government, in compariſon of what we may expect from the Return of his Family, may be called a Golden Age. It is your Part now, my Fellow-Citizens, to take a prudent Reſolution; mine, with a conſtant and moſt joyful Heart, to reſign this envied Magiſtracy, or, if you ſhould reſolve otherwiſe, with all Alacrity to attend to the Defence and Preſervation of your Liberty." A. D. 1512.

NONE doubted what would be the Reſolution of the Council, from the Inclination of almoſt all the People to maintain the popular Government. It was therefore with wonderful Unanimity reſolved to conſent to the Return of the *Medici* as private Citizens, but to refuſe the Removal of the Gonfaloniere from the Reſolution of the *Florentines*.

Magi-

A. D. 1512. Magiſtracy, and that if the Enemy ſhould obſtinately perſiſt in demanding the laſt, they would freely expoſe their Lives and Fortunes in the Defence of their common Liberty and Country. All Hands were then ſet to work on Preparations for War, and Proviſion was made for Supplies of Money; Troops were ordered to *Prato*, a Town diſtant ten Miles from *Florence*, which, it was ſuppoſed, would be the firſt the Viceroy would attack.

THE Viceroy aſſembled his Troops with the Artillery at *Barberino*, from whence he marched with Difficulty over the rugged *Appennine*, becauſe for Want of Money he was but ill provided with Pioneers and Inſtruments for clearing the Roads. He directed his March, as it was expected, to *Prato*, where arriving early in the Morning, he erected a Battery the ſame Day, from whence he play'd for ſome Hours with Falconets on the Gate *Mercatale*, but to no Effect, becauſe it had a good Rampart within. The *Florentines* had put into *Prato* Two Thouſand Foot, almoſt all of them of the Militia, and

and the reſt raiſed in Haſte among all Sorts of Artificers, and People of the meaneſt Callings, ſo that there were very few, in ſo great a Number, of any Experience in War. There were beſides One Hundred Men at Arms under *Luca Savello*, an old Officer, but neither by his Age nor Experience arrived to any Degree of military Knowledge; and the Men at Arms were the ſame as had a little before been diſarmed and ſtripped in *Lombardy*. To this it muſt be added, that, from the Shortneſs of Time, and the Unſkilfulneſs of the Perſon who had the Charge of providing the Place, there was a good Quantity of Artillery, but a Scarcity of Ammunition, and of all Things neceſſary for the Defence of the Town. The Viceroy had Two Hundred Men at Arms, and Five Thouſand *Spaniſh* Foot, and only Two Cannon: An Army inconſiderable in reſpect of Number and other Proviſions of War, but very conſiderable with regard to their Goodneſs; for the Foot were all of the ſame Infantry that had, ſo highly, to their Honour, ſaved themſelves at the Battle of *Ravenna*, and now, like military Men, A. D. 1512.

A. D. 1512. Men, repoſing great Confidence in their own Valour, they utterly deſpiſed the Unſkilfulneſs of their Adverſaries. But as they were come unprovided of Victuals, and found no Plenty of them in the Country, for, tho' Harveſt was hardly over, the Corn had been conveyed into fortified Places, they ſoon began to feel the Want of Neceſſaries for Subſiſtence. The Viceroy, extremely uneaſy in this Situation, was inclined to come to an Agreement, which was continually under Negotiation, on condition that, the *Florentines* conſenting to the Return of the *Medici* on an equal Footing with the other Citizens, no more ſhould be ſaid about depoſing the Gonfaloniere; but that they ſhould pay the Viceroy, that he might depart out of their Dominions, a certain Sum of Money, which, it was ſuppoſed, would not exceed Thirty Thouſand Ducats. With this Deſign the Viceroy had conſented to grant a Paſs for the Ambaſſadors appointed to conclude a Peace with him, and would have deſiſted from carrying on the Attack of *Prato* till their Arrival, provided that in the mean time

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he were ſupplied with Proviſions from the Place. Nothing in Being has ſwifter Wings than Opportunity, nothing is more dangerous than to judge from the Profeſſions of others, and nothing is more prejudicial than an immoderate Suſpicion. All the principal Citizens were deſirous of an Accommodation, being accuſtomed, after the Example of their Anceſtors, to defend their Liberties from Steel by Gold. They were preſſing therefore that the Ambaſſadors appointed ſhould immediately ſet out, and ſhould be charged, among other Affairs, to take care that the *Spaniſh* Army might be ſupplied with Victuals from *Prato*, that ſo the Viceroy might patiently wait to ſee whether the Agreement under Conſideration would take Effect. But the Gonfaloniere, either perſuading himſelf, contrary to his natural Timidity, that the Enemies in Deſpair of Victory would of themſelves depart, or dreading the Return of the *Medici*, in whatever Manner, to *Florence*, or impelled by Fate to be the Cauſe of his own Ruin and of the Calamities of his Country, artfully delayed the Setting out of the Ambaſſadors in ſo

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effectual

A. D. 1512. effectual a Manner that they did not go on the Day appointed by a Reſolution. The Viceroy therefore labouring under a Scarcity of Proviſions, and uncertain whether the Ambaſſadors would come at all, the next Night removed his Camp from the Gate *Mercatale* to the Gate called *Seraglio*, which leads towards the Mountain. Here he planted his two Cannon, and began to batter the Wall near that Gate, chuſing that Place becauſe there was a high Terraſs adjoining to the Wall, from whence it would be eaſy to mount any Breach made by battering the Wall above it. But the Facility on the Outſide became a Difficulty on the Inſide, for the Breach which was made above the Terraſs was ſtill very high above the Ground on the Inſide. One of the Cannon burſt at the firſt Shot, and the other, with which only they continued to batter, had its Force ſo diminiſhed by often Firing, that the Strokes came but weak, and did little Execution; for after a Battery of many Hours they had made an Opening of no more than Twelve Braces. On this however ſome *Spaniſh* Foot got upon the Terraſs,

raſs, from whence they mounted the Breach, and ſo to the Top of the Wall, where they killed two Soldiers of the Guard, at whoſe Slaughter the reſt began to retire. But the *Spaniards* now aſcended in Numbers by Ladders, and tho' there was poſted near the Wall on the Inſide a Battalion of Foot, provided with Pikes and Fire-arms, who were ordered to prevent the Enemy from lodging themſelves on the Wall, and to diſpatch any that ſhould be ſo raſh as to leap down, or in any other manner deſcend on the Inſide, yet at the firſt Sight of the Enemy upon the Walls, they abandoned their Defence, and without ſtriking a Blow betook themſelves to Flight. The *Spaniards*, aſtoniſhed that ſuch great Cowardice and little Experience ſhould be found amongſt military Men, entered the Place at ſeveral Quarters without Oppoſition, and began to run through the Streets, where was no more Reſiſtance, but only Flight, Shrieks, Violence, Rapine, Blood, and Slaughters, the *Florentine* Foot throwing down their Arms, and ſurrendering to the Mercy of the Conquerors, from whoſe Avarice,

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Prato taken and ſacked by the *Spaniſh* Army.

A. D. 1512. Luſt, and Cruelty nothing would have been ſafe, if the Cardinal *de' Medici* had not placed a Guard at the great Church, and ſo preſerved the Chaſtity of the Women, who were almoſt all of them fled thither for Refuge *. There periſhed, not in fighting, for none had the Heart to fight, but in flying, or in begging for Quarter, above Two Thouſand Men, and all the reſt, with the *Florentine* Commiſſary, were made Priſoners. After the Loſs of *Prato* the *Piſtoieſe*, without withdrawing their Obedience to the *Florentines* in other Affairs, took upon them to agree with the Viceroy for ſupplying his Army with Proviſions, on receiving his Promiſe that they ſhould not be moleſted.

This ſad Diſaſter, which cauſed the Ambaſſadors who were going to the Viceroy to ſtop in the Midſt of their Journey, and return back, was no ſooner known in *Florence* than it produced a vaſt Alteration

* *Buonacorſi* ſays that neither Virgins, Children, nor conſecrated Places were ſpared; and *Giovio* writes that the Cruelty of the *Spaniards* exceeded that of the *Germans* and *French* in the Pillage of *Breſcia*, and that there were killed above Five Thouſand unarmed Men.

tion in the Minds of the People. The Gonfaloniere repenting the Folly of his Counſel, terrified, and in a manner deprived at once of all Eſteem and Authority, rather led than a Leader, and quite irreſolute, ſuffered himſelf to be ſubſervient to the Will of others, without making the leaſt Proviſion for his own Preſervation or the public Safety. Others, who were deſirous of a Change of Government grew audacious, and publicly condemned the preſent Adminiſtration. But the greater Part of the Citizens unuſed to Arms, and having before their Eyes the Example of *Prato*, tho' they were fond of a popular Government, ſtood expoſed by their Fears as a Prey to any who had a Mind to invade them. This Situation of Affairs increaſed the Audacioufneſs of *Pagolo Vettori* and *Antonfranceſco de gli Albizi*, young Noblemen, ſeditious, and deſirous of Novelties, who, having ſome Months before ſecretly conſpired with ſome others in favour of the *Medici*, and, in order to ſettle with them the Method by which they might be reſtored, held a private Conference at a Coun- A. D. 1512.

A. D. 1512. try Seat, in the *Florentine* Dominions, on the Borders of the *Seneſe*, with *Giulio de' Medici*, reſolved to make an Attempt to force the Gonfaloniere out of the public Palace. And communicating their Deſign to *Bartolomeo Valori*, a young Man of the ſame Quality, and by his Prodigality overwhelmed with Debts, as was alſo *Pagolo*, on the Morning of the ſecond Day after the Loſs of *Prato*, which was the laſt of *Auguſt*, they entered with a few Attendants into the Palace, where they found no Proviſion made for Reſiſtance, becauſe the Gonfaloniere had abandoned himſelf to the Diſpoſal of Chance or Fortune. They proceeded then directly to the Chamber of that Magiſtrate, and threatened to kill him if he did not leave the Palace; but if he would comply, they gave him their Word of Honour that his Perſon ſhould be ſafe. The Gonfaloniere ſubmitting, and the City taking Alarm at the Tumult, there appeared many againſt him, but not a ſingle Perſon in his Favour: On which the Aſſociates in the Conſpiracy gave Orders for immediately aſſembling the Magiſtrates, to whom

whom the Laws have given a very ample Authority over the Gonfalonieres, and demanded that he might be deprived of his Office by Law, threatening otherwiſe to deprive him of his Life. The Fear of this induced the Magiſtrates, againſt their Will, to depoſe him; after which they conducted him in Safety to the Houſe of *Pagolo*, from whence the next Night he ſet out well attended for the Territory of the *Seneſe*, and from thence, pretending to go to *Rome* under a Paſs obtained from the Pontiff, he privately took the Road to *Ancona*, and paſſed by Sea to *Raguſa*. For he had been informed, by means of the Cardinal his Brother, that the Pope, either out of Malice, or a covetous Deſire to deprive him of his Money, of which it was reported that he had a large Sum, intended to break his Word. A. D. 1512. Gonfaloniere depoſed.

AFTER the Gonfaloniere had been depoſed from the Magiſtracy the City of *Florence* immediately ſent Ambaſſadors to the Viceroy, with whom, by Means of the Cardinal *de' Medici* they eaſily came to an Accommodation. For the Cardinal

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was content that nothing ſhould be mentioned concerning his private Intereſts, but the Reſtitution of his Family and of all their Adherents to their own Country as private Citizens, with a Power to redeem within a certain Time the confiſcated Eſtates, indemnifying thoſe to whom they were transferred for the Money they had expended in the Purchaſe or Improvements. As to the public Affairs the *Florentines* entered into the League, and obliged themſelves to pay unto *Cæſar* Forty Thouſand Ducats in conſequence of what the *Medici*, in anſwer to the Demand of *Goritz* at *Mantoua*, had promiſed as a Reward for their Reſtoration; to pay the Viceroy for the Uſe of the Army Eighty Thouſand Ducats, Half at preſent, and the Remainder within Two Months; and for himſelf Twenty Thouſand Ducats: On the Receipt of the firſt Payment the Viceroy was immediately to march out of the Dominions of the *Florentines*, evacuating all the Places of which he had taken Poſſeſſion. Beſides they made a League with the King of *Aragon*, under reciprocal Obligations of aſſiſting each other

Conditions of Peace impoſed on the *Florentines*.

other with a certain Number of Men at Arms for the Defence of their States, and that the *Florentines* ſhould take into their Pay Two Hundred Men at Arms of the Subjects of that King, the Command of which, tho' not expreſſed, was deſigned for the Marquis *della Palude*, to whom the Cardinal had promiſed, or at leaſt given Hopes, that he ſhould be conſtituted Captain General of the *Florentine* Forces. A. D. 1512.

THE Gonfaloniere being expelled, and the Dangers of War removed by an Agreement, the Citizens applied themſelves to reform the Government in thoſe Points in which the former Model had been judged to be of no Service; but, with an univerſal Intention, except of a very few, and thoſe either young Men, or almoſt all of them ſcarce worthy of Notice, to preſerve their Liberty and the popular Council. For this End they enacted, by new Laws, that the Gonfaloniere ſhould no more be elected for Perpetuity, but only for one Year: That to the Council of Eighteen, which was changed every Six Months, and by whoſe Authority the *Florentines* alter their Government.

A. D. 1512. moſt weighty Affairs were determined, ſhould be added for Perpetuity all thoſe who had, to that Day, diſcharged the great Offices of the State either at Home or Abroad, with an Intent that the Citizens of the greateſt Quality might always aſſiſt at their Debates; at Home particularly ſuch as had either been Gonfalonieres of Juſtice, or of the Number of the Ten of the *Balia*, a Magiſtracy of great Authority in that Republic; of ſuch as had ſerved abroad, all thoſe who being elected by the Council of Eighty had been ſent Ambaſſadors to Princes, or had been Commiſſaries general in War. In all other Points the Ordinances of the ſame Government remained in Force without Alteration.

THESE Affairs being ſettled, *Giovan Battiſta Ridolfi*, a noble Citizen, and of great Reputation for Prudence, was elected Gonfaloniere for the firſt Year, the People, as is uſually the Caſe in troubleſome Times, not paying ſo much Regard to thoſe who were moſt acceptable to them for their popular Arts, as to a Perſon who

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by his great Authority in the City, eſpe- A. D. 1512.
cially with the Nobility, and by his own extraordinary Talents was beſt capable of eſtabliſhing the tottering State of the Commonwealth. But Things were now gone too far, and the Enemies of the public Liberty were become too powerful; in the Bowels of the Country was a ſuſpected Army, and within the City the moſt audacious of the Youth were greatly deſirous of oppreſſing that Liberty. With them concurred in Will, tho' in Words he pretended the contrary, the Cardinal *de' Medici*; for even from the Beginning he would not have thought the Reſtoration of his Family merely as private Citizens a Reward worthy of ſuch great Fatigues, and now he conſidered further that their preſent Situation would not be durable, becauſe they would be univerſally deteſted by the People, and himſelf in particular, on a Suſpicion that he would be continually inciting the other Citizens to conſpire againſt their Liberty, but much more from an Indignation conceived againſt the Family for having conducted a *Spaniſh* Army againſt their Country, and being

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A. D. 1512. the Cauſe of the moſt barbarous and cruel Saccage of *Prato*, and that the City was conſtrained by the Terror of Arms to ſubmit to diſhonourable and unjuſt Conditions. The Cardinal was ſtimulated to the ſame Purpoſe by thoſe who had before conſpired with him, and had no honourable Station in the well regulated Commonwealth. But it was neceſſary to have the Conſent of the Viceroy, who ſtill lay with his Army in *Prato* expecting the firſt Payment, which the Circumſtances of the City rendered difficult to get in readineſs, and had no Inclination, whatever Cauſe might be pretended, to favour a new Alteration in the City. But on the Repreſentations of the Cardinal, who had procured himſelf to be ſeconded by the Marquis *della Palude*, and *Andrea Caraffa*, Count *di Santa Severina*, Generals in the Army, that it was to be feared leſt the City, to whom the Name of the *Spaniards* could not but be henceforth perfectly odious on account of the Damages it had received from them, and which would therefore on all Occaſions adhere to the Enemies of the Catholic King, ſhould,

ſhould, as ſoon as the Army had quitted their Dominions, recall the Gonfaloniere, whom it had been forced to expel, he complied with the Deſires of his Eminence, being the rather induced by the great Difficulty the Citizens made of paying him the Money they had promiſed, in which, had they been more expeditious, they would have laid a greater Foundation for a free Government. The Cardinal therefore having previouſly ſettled Matters with the Viceroy, unexpectedly entered *Florence*, and repaired to the Houſes of the *Medici*. There entered alſo, Part with him and Part ſeparately, a good Number of *Italian* Officers and Soldiers, the Magiſtrates not daring to forbid their Entrance on account of the Neighbourhood of the *Spaniſh* Army. The next Day a great Number of Citizens being aſſembled in Council in the public Palace on the preſent Juncture, and *Giuliano de' Medici* aſſiſting, the Soldiers on a ſudden forced the Gate, and ruſhing up Stairs took Poſſeſſion of the Palace, and ſeized on the Plate which was kept there for the Uſe of the Magiſtracy. The Magi-

A. D. 1512.

Medici return to *Florence*.

A. D. 1512. Magiſtrates then with the Gonfaloniere being forced to ſubmit to the Will of a Man who could do more with Arms than they could do by their unarmed Reverence and Authority, immediately at the Motion of *Giuliano de' Medici*, called, by Sound of the great Bell, an Aſſembly of the People in the Square of the Palace. Here thoſe that met, finding themſelves ſurrounded by armed Soldiers, and the Youth of the City that had taken Arms for the *Medici*, gave their Conſent that about Fifty Citizens, nominated with the Approbation of the Cardinal, ſhould be inveſted with the ſame Authority in public Affairs as had reſided in all the People, which ſo ample a Power the *Florentines* call *Balia* *. By a Decree of this Aſſembly the Government was reduced to that Form in which it ſubſiſted before the Year 1494, a Guard was ſtationed at the Palace, and the *Medici* reſumed their former Grandeur, but governed more im-

Reſume their Authority.

Giovio, in his Life of Pope *Leo* X. ſays that Fifteen Men were created with a Power to elect Sixty others of the beſt Eſteem in the City, and moſt attached to the *Medici*, who with their Electors were to conſtitute a perpetual or ſtanding Council for the Government of the State.

imperiouſly, and with a more abſolute Authority than their Father had done. A. D. 1512.

AFTER this Manner was the Liberty of the *Florentines* oppreſſed by Arms, being reduced to this Condition principally by the Diviſions among the Citizens. And, to ſay nothing of the Neutrality which they had imprudently obſerved, and of the Remiſſneſs of the Gonfaloniere in ſuffering the Enemies of the popular Government to take too much Head, it is believed that this Revolution would not even after all have been effected, if the Cauſe of the Public had not been negligently managed. For the King of *Aragon* at firſt had not ſo great a Deſire to ſubvert the Liberty of *Florence*, as to detach the City from its Adherence to the King of *France*, and to ſqueeze a Sum of Money from it to pay his Army. For as ſoon as the *French* had abandoned the Dutchy of *Milan*, he charged the Viceroy that when either the Circumſtances of Affairs called him on ſome other Enterpriſe, or that for any other Reaſon he ſhould perceive that the Reſtoration of the *Medici* would be difficult

Florentines negligent of their Liberty.

A. D. 1512. cult to accompliſh, he ſhould then take his Meaſures according to the Times, and agree or not with the City, as he ſaw moſt convenient. Such were his Orders at firſt; but afterwards being diſſatisfied with the Pope for what he had attempted againſt *Alfonſo d'Eſte* at *Rome*, and taking Umbrage at the Threats which his Holineſs threw out in public againſt the Name of the Barbarians, he openly declared his Mind to the ſame *Florentine* Ambaſſador that had been ſent to him at the Beginning of the War, and accordingly charged the Viceroy to attempt no Alteration in the Government, either becauſe he judged it ſafer to preſerve the Gonfaloniere who was obnoxious to the Pope, or was apprehenſive that the Cardinal *de' Medici* after his Reſtoration would have a greater Dependance on the Pope than himſelf. But this laſt Reſolution did not come to the Knowledge of the Viceroy, till the Day after the Republic was reduced under the Power of the Cardinal.

By what has been ſaid it appears that if the *Florentines*, after the Expulſion of the *French*,

French, had been diligent in providing for the Security of their Affairs by means of an Harmony among themſelves, or had been guarded by a Body of well diſciplined and experienced Troops, the Viceroy would either not have put himſelf in Motion againſt them, or have met with ſuch Difficulties in his Attempt to oppreſs them, that he would have been glad to compound with them for a Sum of Money. But it was decreed that they ſhould take none of theſe ſalutary Meaſures; ſince, beſides what might be comprehended by human Reaſoning and Foreſight, they had been warned from Heaven of the imminent Dangers. For not long before a Thunderbolt fell on the Gate by which you go from *Florence* to *Prato*, and ſtruck off from an antient Eſcutcheon of Marble the golden Flower-de-Luces, which are the Enſign of the King of *France*. Another falling on the Top of the Palace penetrated into the Chamber of the Gonfaloniere, and touching only the large Silver Box that contains the Balls uſed in electing the chief Magiſtrate, deſcended to the Bottom, where it ſtruck a great Stone that was at the

A. D. 1512.

Signs prognoſtic of the Revolution.

A. D. 1512. the Foot of the Stairs, and ſupported the Frame of the Building, in ſuch a Manner that, being forced out of its Place without receiving any Damage, it ſeemed to be removed by ſome very dextrous and ſkilful Architect.

Caſtelletto of *Genoa* ſurrendered.

AT the ſame time, or a little before, the Caſtelletto of *Genoa*, which had been battered by ſome Cannon lent by the Pope, was ſurrendered to the *Genoeſe* on the Payment of Ten Thouſand Ducats to the Governor, who deſpaired of Relief becauſe a Fleet, ſent by the King from *Provence* to attend to the Defence of that City before he knew of its Rebellion, was returned back without daring to put to Shore. But the Lantern ſtill held out for the King, having about the ſame time received a Supply of Proviſions and other Neceſſaries by ſome *French* Ships.

THE Affairs of *Florence* being ſettled, and the promiſed Money received, the Viceroy put his Army in Motion for *Breſcia*, which City the *Venetian* Army, after mollifying the refractory Temper of the

the *Swiſs*, was employed in beſieging. They lay before the Gate of *San Giovanni*, and battered the Town, and at the ſame time, with ſome Pieces of Artillery planted on an oppoſite Hill, played on the Caſtle. They were alſo in hopes of being let into the Place by the Gate of the *Pile* by means of a Plot, which was diſcovered without taking Effect. But as ſoon as they were joined by the *Spaniſh* Army at the Caſtle of *Gairo*, near to *Breſcia*, *Aubigni*, the Commander of the *French* who were in Garriſon in the Town, choſe to ſurrender it, together with the Caſtle, into the Hands of the Viceroy, on Condition that all the Soldiers ſhould march out in Safety with their Effects, but with their Colours folded, their Pikes and Lances lowered, and leaving behind them their Artillery. It is ſuſpected that *Aubigni* choſe to ſurrender to the Viceroy rather than to the *Venetians* by the Orders of his King, by which he was directed to give up the Place to the *Spaniards*, or to *Cæſar*, not out of Hatred to the *Venetians*, but to ſuggeſt Matter of Contention between *Cæſar* and the King of *Arragon*. The ſame Step was

A. D. 1512.

Breſcia ſurrendered to *Spaniards*

A. D. 1512. taken, before the *Spaniards* paſſed into *Lombardy*, by the *French* Garriſon of *Lignago*, who deſpiſing the repeated Offers of the *Venetians*, put that Fortreſs into the Hands of the Biſhop of *Goritz*, to whom alſo *Peſchiera* was in like manner ſurrender'd at the ſame time that the Viceroy entered into *Breſcia*, the Poſſeſſion of which City alſo was demanded by the Biſhop, but the Viceroy was pleaſed to keep it for the preſent for the Uſe of the League, in whoſe Name he had received it. But the Enterpriſe againſt *Crema* took a different Turn, for *Renzo da Ceri* with a Part of the *Venetian* Army lying before the Place, on the Approach of Four Thouſand *Swiſs* ſent by *Ottaviano Sforza*, Biſhop of *Lodi*, and Governor of *Milan*, to make the Conqueſt of it in the Name of *Maſſimiliano Sforza*, the future Duke, *Benedetto Cribrario*, corrupted with Gifts and a Promiſe of being created a Nobleman of *Venice*, ſurrendered the Town to the *Venetians*, with the Conſent of Monſ. *di Duraſo*, who commanded in the Caſtle, and would not depend for his Safety on the Faith of the *Swiſs*.

Crema ſurrendered to the Venetians.

THE

A. D. 1512.

THE Biſhop of *Goritz* after this took a Progreſs to *Rome*, where the Pope being extremely ſollicitous to gain his Affections forced his Nature, and cauſed him to be received through his whole Dominions with all imaginable Honours, defraying the Expences of him and all his Attendants during the whole Journey in a moſt ſumptuous Manner, and receiving him in all the Towns with exceſſive and even unuſual Marks of Honour. In many Places he was addreſſed by new Embaſſies of Prelates and honourable Perſons ſent by the Pope, who would have perſuaded the College of Cardinals to walk in Proceſſion and receive him at the Gate of *Rome*; but the College refuſing it, as a Step not only without Precedent but full of the higheſt Indignity, the Cardinals of *Agen* and *Strigonia* went forth as far as the Meadows half a Mile from the Gate to receive the Biſhop in the Name of the Pontiff, and conducted him, marching in the Middle between them, as Lieutenant of *Cæſar*, to the Church of *Santa Maria del Popolo*, from whence, after the two

Reception of *Goritz* at *Rome*.

A. D. 1512. Cardinals had taken their Leave of him, he was accompanied by an innumerable Multitude to the Preſence of the Pontiff, who waited for him in a public Conſiſtory, veſted in his Robes, and ſeated in the pontifical Chair. With the ſame Formalities he had a few Days before very honourably received twelve Ambaſſadors of the *Swiſs*, who were deputed from all the Cantons to pay their Obedience in a public Manner, and to offer the Service of the whole Nation for the perpetual Defence of the State of the Church, with their Thanks to his Holineſs for the ſignal Honour he had done them in preſenting them with the Sword, Cap, Helmet, and Standard, and beſtowing on them the Title of *Defenders of the Eccleſiaſtic Liberty*.

On the Arrival of *Goritz* a Council was held for ſettling the public Affairs on a ſolid Foundation, which could only be done by removing the Cauſes of Feuds and Contentions between particular Parties, that the Peace of *Italy* might be ſo firmly eſtabliſhed, that all its Powers might with united Counſels and Reſolutions reſiſt the King

King of *France*. The moſt difficult Part of this Work was an Accommodation, ſo often attempted, between *Cæſar* and the *Venetian* Senate: For *Goritz* conſented that the *Venetians* ſhould have the Poſſeſſion of *Padoua*, *Trevigi*, *Breſcia*, *Bergamo* and *Crema*, but inſiſted on the Reſtitution of *Vicenza* to the Emperor, and a Renunciation of all Right and Title to thoſe Towns which *Cæſar* retained, beſides the preſent Payment of Two Hundred Thouſand *Rheniſh* Florins, and a yearly Tribute of Thirty Thouſand more for ever. The *Venetians* thought it hard to acknowledge themſelves Tributaries for thoſe Towns which they had held ſo many Years in Poſſeſſion as their Property; harder to pay ſuch a Sum of Money, though the Pope offered to lend them Part of it; but intolerable to reſtore *Vicenza*, which being in the Hands of the Emperor would, as they alledged, by dividing the Body of their State, cut off the Communication of the Head and other principal Parts with the reſt of the Members, by which Means their Poſſeſſion of *Breſcia*, *Bergamo* and *Crema* would become very uncertain and

A. D. 1512. Agreement treated of between *Cæſar* and the *Venetians*.

A. D. 1512. precarious. Beſides this, they repreſented, as a more decent Excuſe for their Refuſal, that they had paſſed their ſolemn Word to the *Vicentines* at their laſt Surrendry, that they would never ſuffer themſelves to be ſeparated from them.

Some other Articles came under Debate between the Pope and the Ambaſſadors of the King of *Aragon*, which were propoſed by one Party more with a View to countervail the Complaints of the other, than in Hopes to obtain Satisfaction. For the Pope demanded that the King ſhould, according to the Stipulations of the Confederacy, aſſiſt him in the Conqueſt of *Ferrara*, and withdraw his Protection from *Fabritio* and *Marc' Antonio Colonna*, againſt whom his Holineſs had begun to proceed with ſpiritual Arms, for having forced the *Lateran* Gate, and received *Alfonſo d'Eſte* his Rebel into the Towns the Dominion of which directly belonged to the Church. He demanded alſo that the King ſhould renounce the Protections which he had granted in *Tuſcany* to the *Florentines*, *Seneſe*, *Luccheſe*, and to *Piombino*, as done in Diminution

Pope's Demands of the King of *Aragon*.

Diminution of the Rights of the Empire, and giving Umbrage to *Italy* in general, and particularly to the Church, ſince as it could not be of any Service to the other Potentates that he ſhould have ſo many Adherents in *Italy*, ſo it would be very dangerous for the Church to have a Province adjoining to its Dominions dependent on his Authority. *A. D.* 1512.

Answer of the King's Ambaſſadors.

THE Anſwer of the *Spaniards* to thoſe Demands was, that the King their Maſter did not refuſe to aſſiſt his Holineſs againſt *Ferrara*, provided that, according to the Obligations of the former Confederacy, he paid the Sums due to the Army for the Time paſt, and provided for future Payments; that his Proceedings againſt *Fabritio* and *Marc' Antonio Colonna* were by no means laudable; for by the Dependencies which they had contracted, and by the Reputation they had gained as Generals, the Proſecution of them would furniſh Matter for new Combuſtions: That his Catholic Majeſty could not abandon them without great Prejudice to his own Honour; and that the Exploits performed

A. D. 1512. by both of them in the Service of the Pontiff, as well as of himſelf, in the War againſt the King of *France*, deſerved a better Recompenſe: That the Complaint of the Protections of *Tuſcany* did not ariſe from any juſt Umbrage or Jealouſy, but was made with an Intent that *Siena*, *Lucca* and *Piombino* might be left as a Prey to the covetous Ambition of the Pontiff: That the King, however, as to theſe Points would refer himſelf to the Arbitration of the Emperor.

It was the unanimous Deſire of the Confederates that *Maſſimiliano Sforza* ſhould be inſtated in the Dutchy of *Milan*, though *Cæſar* would not conſent to grant him the Inveſtiture, nor give him the Name of Duke or any Title of Juriſdiction. But there was revived a Complaint of *Goritz* and the *Spaniards* concerning the Seizure of *Parma* and *Piacenza*, in Prejudice of the Rights of the Empire, to the immoderate Increaſe of Power in the Popes, and too much weakening the Dutchy of *Milan*, which it would rather have been neceſſary to render more powerful,

Parma and Piacenza unjuſtly ſeized by the Pope.

ful, becauſe it was always ſure to receive the firſt Impreſſions from the *French*. The Pontiff, it was ſaid, had not in the Articles of the League mentioned any other Cities than *Bologna* and *Ferrara*; but now, under Pretence of Rights of which there appeared no authentic Traces in the Memory of Man, uſurped what had not for a vaſt Space of Time been in the Poſſeſſion of the *Roman* Church, nor was there any certain Knowledge that ſhe had ever been poſſeſſed of it even in the moſt antient Times, for of Donations made by Emperors there was nothing to ſhew but one ſimple Writing, which might have been forged by any one at Pleaſure; and yet the Pope, as if the Caſe were manifeſt and notorious, taking Advantage of the Troubles of *Lombardy*, had taken upon himſelf to judge in his own Cauſe. A. D. 1512.

ALL theſe Diſputes were difficult to be terminated; but what by far occaſioned the greateſt Trouble and Diſturbance was the Difference between *Cæſar* and the *Venetians*, the Pope fatiguing himſelf to the utmoſt

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utmoſt of his Power, ſometimes by Exhortations, ſometimes by Intreaties, and ſometimes by Menaces, being deſirous, as he was at firſt, of the Preſervation of the *Venetians* for the public Good of *Italy*, for he hoped by their Aſſiſtance, without employing the *Spaniards*, to make himſelf Maſter of *Ferrara*. The Ambaſſadors of the King of *Aragon* alſo laboured for a Reconciliation, being apprehenſive that the *Venetians*, to the common Danger, might be induced to turn their Thoughts once more on uniting with the King of *France*. But they were under a Neceſſity of acting cautiouſly for fear of provoking *Cæſar* to enter into an Alliance with *France*, from which their King had taken ſo much Pains to ſeparate him, and becauſe his Catholic Majeſty for ſome other Reaſons would by no means forfeit his Friendſhip. The *Swiſs* Ambaſſadors alſo interpoſed their good Offices for adjuſting theſe Differences; for they had obliged themſelves to defend the *Venetians* on the yearly Penſion of Twenty-five Thouſand Ducats, and they deſired not to be reduced to the Neceſſity either of violating their Promiſes,

Agreement between *Cæſar* and the *Venetians* ſolicited in vain.

Promiſes, or of oppoſing *Cæſar* if he ſhould attack the *Venetian* Dominions. A. D. 1512.

AT laſt, the Pontiff finding he could not induce *Goritz* to recede from his Demand of the Reſtitution of *Vicenza*, nor diſpoſe the *Venetians* to give it up, and that they diſagreed alſo about the Sum of Money, and deſirous above all things that, in order to extinguiſh the Name and Authority of the *Piſan* Conventicle, the Emperor might approve of the *Lateran* Council, proteſted to the *Venetian* Ambaſſadors that he ſhould be conſtrained to proſecute their Republic with ſpiritual and temporal Arms. But his Proteſt making no Impreſſion on the Ambaſſadors, he entered into a Confederacy with *Cæſar* alone, for the *Spaniſh* Ambaſſador refuſed to be a Party concerned, either becauſe he had no Commiſſion from his Maſter, or becauſe that King, though inclined to aſſiſt *Cæſar*, was yet ſollicitous to find ſome Means for keeping alive the Hopes of the *Venetians*.* League between the Pope and *Cæſar*.

Means

* The *Engliſh* Ambaſſador alſo refuſed the League, it appearing to him, as *Mocenigo* ſays, a ſcandalous and unhandſome

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IN the Preamble to this Confederacy, which was afterwards ſolemnly publiſhed in the Church of *Santa Maria del Popolo*, it was expreſſed that the *Venetians* having obſtinately refuſed Peace, and the Pontiff, obliged by the Neceſſities of the Chriſtian Commonwealth, having proteſted to abandon them, *Cæſar* had entered into and accepted of the League made in the Year 1511 between the Pope, the King of *Aragon*, and the *Venetians*, by Virtue of the Liberty which had been hitherto reſerved for his Acceſſion; that he promiſed to adhere to the *Lateran* Council, diſannulling the Mandate, and revoking all Powers and Acts made or granted in favour of the *Piſan* Conventicle; and that he was obliged not to aſſiſt any Subject or Enemy of the Church, particularly *Alfonſo d' Eſte* and the *Bentivogli*, the Poſſeſſors of *Ferrara* and *Bologna*; and he was alſo to recall the *German* Foot that were in the Service of *Alfonſo* and of *Federigo da Bozzolo* his Feudatory.

Conditions on *Cæſar*'s Part.

ON

handſome Action to engage againſt the *Venetians*, who, according to *Bembo*, had deſerved infinitely well of the Pope.

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On the Pope's Part.

ON the other Part the Pope engaged to aſſiſt *Cæſar* with ſpiritual and temporal Arms againſt the *Venetians*, till he ſhould have recovered all that was allotted him by the League of *Cambray*. The *Venetians* were declared to be wholly excluded from the League, and from the Truce made with *Cæſar*, becauſe they had ſeveral Ways acted in Contravention to both; and to be Enemies to the Pontiff, to *Cæſar*, and to the Catholic King, to whom Room was reſerved for entering into the Confederacy within a certain Time, and on certain Conditions: The Pope was to make no Agreement with the *Venetians* without the Conſent of *Cæſar*, or before *Cæſar* had recovered all that belonged to him, as above: Neither the Pope nor *Cæſar* were at Liberty to enter into an Agreement with any Chriſtian Prince without the Conſent of the other Party: During the War againſt the *Venetians* the Pope was not to moleſt *Fabritio* or *Marc' Antonio Colonna*, reſerving Liberty to proceed againſt the Biſhop, *Pompeo*, *Giulio*, and ſome other declared Rebels: Laſtly, that

A. D. 1512. that tho' by this Agreement the Poſſeſſion of *Parma*, *Reggio* and *Piacenza* by the Pope was tolerated, no Prejudice was intended to the Rights of the Empire.

THE Confederacy being publiſhed, *Goritz*, at the next Seſſion of the *Lateran* Council, gave his Approbation to that Aſſembly in the Name of the Emperor, and as his Vicegerent General in *Italy*, diſannulling the Mandate, with all the Powers and Acts made and granted, and teſtifying before the whole Council that *Cæſar* had never aſſented to the *Piſan* Conventicle, but abhorred every one that had uſed his Name to authoriſe their Proceedings *.

Cæſar approves of the *Lateran* Council.

THIS Buſineſs being diſpatched, *Goritz* ſet out from *Rome* to be preſent when *Maſſimiliano Sforza*, who was arrived with the Emperor's Commiſſion at *Verona*, took Poſſeſſion of the Dutchy of *Milan*. But the Cardinal of *Sion*, and the Ambaſſadors

* The Biſhop of *Goritz* by his Adherence to the *Lateran* Council ſo much ingratiated himſelf with the Pope, that he obtained of him a Monitory againſt the *Venetians*, and that *Cæſar* ſhould have *Breſcia*. *Moc.*

baſſadors of the whole *Swiſs* Nation, who were in *Milan*, were with Difficulty induced to wait the Arrival of the Biſhop, for they were deſirous that in the Ceremonies and Solemnities to be performed on that Occaſion it ſhould appear, by ſome Marks of Diſtinction, that the *Swiſs* were the Cauſe of this happy Event, that they were the Men who had driven the *French* out of that State, the Men to whoſe Labour and Valour *Maſſimiliano* was indebted for receiving it. The Viceroy however prevailed on them, more by Cunning and Induſtry than by Authority, to wait the Coming of *Goritz*. That Prelate having in the Name of *Cæſar* ratified at *Florence* the Confederacy made in *Prato*, and received a certain Sum of Money from the *Luccheſe*, for taking them under his Protection, proceeded to *Cremona*, where he was expected by *Maſſimiliano Sforza* and the Viceroy, and from thence they all ſet out together for *Milan* to make their Entry into that City, on the Day appointed, with the Solemnities and Honours uſually attending new Princes. In the Cavalcade there was a great Diſpute between the

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Cardinal

A. D. 1512. Cardinal of *Sion* and the Viceroy which of them was beſt qualified to deliver the Keys at the Entrance of the Gate to the new Prince, as a Mark of putting him in Poſſeſſion of his State. But the Viceroy at laſt ſubmitting, the Cardinal in the public Name of the *Swiſs* put the Keys in the Hands of the Prince, and that Day, which was about the latter End of *December*, performed all the Ceremonies that were neceſſary to ſhew that *Maſſimiliano* received Poſſeſſion from the *Swiſs*. The new Duke was received with incredible Demonſtrations of Joy by all the People, from a moſt ardent Deſire to have a Prince of their own, and becauſe they hoped that he would imitate his Grandfather or his Father, the former of whom had greatly endeared his Memory to the Inhabitants by his excellent Virtues, and their Wearineſs and Vexations under foreign Governments had changed their Hatred of the other into Benevolence; and before they had ended their Rejoicings the Caſtle of *Novara* was recovered, the Garriſon ſurrendering that Fortreſs.

Maſſimiliano Sforza put in Poſſeſſion of the Dutchy of *Milan*.

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THE Confederacy made in *Rome* had not wholly broken off all Hopes of Accommodation between *Cæſar* and the *Venetians*, for the Pope had immediately ſent to *Venice Jacopo Staffileo* his Nuncio, who was accompanied by three Ambaſſadors of the *Swiſs*, in order to induce them to come to an Agreement. On the other Side the Senate, to preſerve the Benevolence of the Pope, and to avoid giving *Cæſar* any Cauſe to employ his Arms againſt them, had directed their Ambaſſadors to profeſs their Adherence to the *Lateran* Council, and as ſoon as the Confederacy was made ſent Orders for their Troops to retire into the *Padouan*. The Viceroy therefore, unwilling to diſturb the Hopes of a Peace, had drawn off his Army towards *Milan*. But the ſame Difficulties concerning the Reſtitution of *Vicenza*, and the Payment of the Money ſtill ſubſiſting, all thoſe Labours were to no Purpoſe. And this was the Reaſon why the Pope did not attack *Ferrara*, becauſe had the Peace taken Effect, he would have been in Hopes that his own

Accommodation between *Cæſar* and the *Venetians* miſcarries.

A. D. 1512. Forces, with the Aſſiſtance of the *Venetians*, together with the Report that they were to be joined, if needful, by the *Spaniards*, were ſufficient to ſecure him the Victory; but otherwiſe he had reſolved to defer the Undertaking till the Spring, becauſe *Ferrara* was thought difficult to be taken in the Winter, being ſtrong by Situation with reſpect to the River, and *Alfonſo* had ſtrongly fortified it, and was continually adding ſome new Fortifications.

IT may perhaps ſeem foreign to my Purpoſe, which was not to take any Notice of Occurrences happening without the Bounds of *Italy*, to give an Account of Tranſactions during the Courſe of this Year in *France*; but the Dependence of the State of Affairs in our own Country upon that on the other Side of the Mountains, and the Connexion of Events, ſo often obſerved, in one with the Reſolutions and Events in the other, oblige me not to paſs them quite over in Silence.---

Engliſh land at Fonterabia. So early as the Beginning of *May* Six Thouſand *Engliſh* Foot had been tranſported

ed in *Engliſh* and *Spaniſh* Ships to *Fontarabia*, a Town on the utmoſt Border of the Kingdom of *Spain* towards *France*, and ſeated on the Ocean. Here they were to be joined by the *Spaniſh* Forces, and, according to the Agreement made between the Father-in-law and Son-in-law, jointly attack the Dutchy of *Guyenne*, which, according to the antient Names and Diviſions of Countries, is a Part of the Province of *Aquitaine*. Againſt this Invaſion the King of *France*, not as yet ſecure on the Side of *Picardy*, had got in readineſs a Regiment of Eight Hundred Lances, which he had formed on a new Eſtabliſhment, and had liſted a great Number of Foot in the lower Parts of *Germany*, not ſubject to *Cæſar*. And knowing how much more important it was for the Defence of the Dutchy of *Guyenne* to be ſecure of the Kingdom of *Navarre*, which being appropriated in Dowry to *Catherine de Foix* was enjoyed in common by herſelf and *John* her Son by her Huſband *Albert*, he had invited *Albert* to his Court, and was very ſollicitous to gain him to his Intereſt. And he had a very

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A. D. 1512. fair Colour offered him for taking Poſſeſſion of the Country by the Death of *Gaſton de Foix*, on which Occaſion the King of *France* pretending that *Navarre* did not belong to Females, but to himſelf as the next Heir male of the Family of *Foix*, had begun a Proceſs at Law againſt *John*.

King of *France* claims *Navarre*.

ON the other Side the Catholic King, who had ſet his Eyes on the Kingdom of *Navarre*, demanded of the King that he ſhould ſtand neuter between him and the King of *France*, ſhould grant a free Paſſage through *Navarre* to his Troops that were to enter *France*, and for the Security of obſerving ſuch Engagements ſhould put into his Hands ſome Fortreſſes, which he promiſed to reſtore as ſoon as the War was ended. The King of *Navarre* being ſenſible of the Tendency of theſe Demands, for he knew that the Kings of *Spain* had of old a longing Deſire to ſeize on *Navarre*, choſe rather to expoſe himſelf to an uncertain Danger, than to embrace certain Ruine, in Hopes that he ſhould not fail of the Succours promiſed by the King of *France*, for whoſe Affairs

it

it would be very convenient to keep the War out of his own Dominions in *Navarre*. At the ſame time, either to give more Leiſure to the Troops for marching, as appointed, to his Aſſiſtance, or to free himſelf, if poſſible, from theſe Demands, he treated with the King of *Aragon*, who, according to his Cuſtom, proceeded in this Affair with profound Policy. But he was no more injured by the Diligence and Sollicitude of the Catholic King, than he was by the Negligence of the King of *France*, who taking Encouragement becauſe the *Engliſh* who had been landed at *Fontarabia* had lain ſtill in their Quarters for many Days, and being confident that the King of *Navarre* could, for ſome Time defend himſelf with his own Forces, proceeded but ſlowly in ſending him Succours. On this Occaſion the King of *Aragon*, who had craftily amuſed *Navarre*, with fallacious Hopes, turned his Forces that were prepared to join with the *Engliſh*, with the utmoſt Expedition, againſt the Dominions of that King, who being unprepared, and deſpairing of Reſiſtance,

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King of *Aragon* ſeizes on *Navarre*.

A. D. 1512. sistance, fled over the *Pirenean* Mountains into *Bearn*.

THUS the Kingdom of *Navarre*, except some garrisoned Fortresses which held out for the fugitive King, being abandoned, was without any Expence or Difficulty, and more from an Awe of the Neighbourhood of the *English* than by his own Forces, reduced under the Power of the King of *Aragon*. That Prince knowing himself incapable of asserting his Right to that Kingdom by any other Title, alledged that he had taken lawful Possession of it by Authority from the Apostolic See. For the Pope, not satisfied with his prosperous Successes in *Italy*, had a little before published a Bull against the King of *France*, in which, calling him no longer *most Christian* but *most illustrious*, he subjected him and all his Adherents to all the Punishments of Heretics and Schismatics, granting a Power to any one lawfully to seize on their Goods, Estates, and whatever else belonged to them. With the same bitter Spirit, being highly offended with the City of *Lions* for

Pope excommunicates the King and Kingdom of *France*.

for receiving the Cardinals and the other Prelates who had fled from *Milan*, he had commanded, under grievous Cenſures, that the Fair uſed to be kept four times a Year, with a vaſt Concourſe of Merchants, at *Lions*, ſhould be held for the future in the City of *Geneva*, from whence *Lewis* XI. had, for the Benefit of his Kingdom, removed it; and at laſt he ſubjected the whole Kingdom of *France* to the Eccleſiaſtic Interdict. A. D. 1512.

BUT the King of *Aragon* having got Poſſeſſion of *Navarre*, a Kingdom, though of ſmall Extent and Revenues, yet very commodious by its Situation, and a great Security to *Spain*, had firmly reſolved to proceed no further, not thinking it for his Purpoſe to go to War with the King of *France* beyond the Mountains. Hence he had been but ſlow in preparing his Forces even from the firſt Landing of the *Engliſh*, and after his Acquiſition of *Navarre*, when the *Engliſh* ſollicited him to join his Forces with theirs, that they might march in conjunction, and lay Siege to *Bayonne*, a City in the Neighbour-

A. D. 1512. hood of *Fontarabia*, and ſeated almoſt on the Ocean, he propoſed other Enterpriſes in Places diſtant from the Sea, alledging that *Bayonne* was ſo well fortified and garriſoned, that there were no Hopes of taking it. But the *Engliſh* oppoſing his Schemes, and ſetting no Value on any Conqueſt in the Dutchy of *Guyenne* without *Bayonne*, after much Time ſpent in theſe Diſputes, grew tired, and thinking themſelves deluded, embarked without Orders or Leave from their Prince, and returned to *England*.

Engliſh return home.

By their Departure the King of *France* remained ſecure on that Side, and he was no longer under Apprehenſions from the *Engliſh*, who had attacked him by Sea, for he was become at length ſo powerful in his naval Armaments, that he commanded all the Ocean between the Coaſts of *England* and *Spain*. He reſolved therefore now to attempt the Recovery of *Navarre*, to which he was encouraged not only by the Departure of the *Engliſh*, but becauſe by the ill Succeſs of his Wars in *Italy* his Troops were all collected within the Kingdom

French attempt in vain the Recovery of *Navarre*.

dom of *France*. The King of *Aragon*, at the Time when he gave Hopes to the *Engliſh* that he would make War, had, in order to ſecure the whole Kingdom of *Navarre*, ſent ſome Troops to *St. Jean Pied de Port*, a Town on the utmoſt Borders of *Navarre*, and ſeated at the Foot of the *Pireneian* Mountains towards *France*; and when afterwards the *French* Forces began to increaſe in the neighbouring Places, had ſent thither *Federigo* Duke of *Alva*, his Captain General, with his whole Army. But at length being much inferior to the *French*, who were joined by the Dauphine, *Charles* Duke of *Bourbon*, and *Longueville*, Lords of the firſt Quality, the Duke of *Alva* entrenched himſelf in a ſtrong Poſt between the Plain and the Mountain, and judged that he ſhould do enough if he could prevent the *French* from entering *Navarre*. The Enemy, being ſenſible that they could not hurt him in that Place becauſe of the Strength of its Situation, reſolved that the King of *Navarre* with Seven Thouſand Foot of his own Country, accompanied by M. *la Paliſſe* with Three Hundred Lances, ſhould

A. D. 1512.

A. D. 1512. ſhould march from *Salvaterre* near *St. Jean Pied de Port*, where the whole Army was encamped, and paſs the *Pirenean* Mountains by the Way of *Valdironcales*, and approaching *Pampelona*, the Capital of *Navarre*, in which the People, taking Encouragement from the near Approach of the *French*, began already to be very tumultuous, from a Deſire after their King, ſhould ſeize the Paſs of *Roncifvalle*, by which alone Proviſions were conveyed to the *Spaniſh* Camp, which in its preſent Situation, by means of the Barrenneſs of the Country, did not abound with Victuals. The Event was, that, after the King of *Navarre* and *Paliſſe* had ſeized a Paſs on the Summit of the *Pirenean* Mountains, they took by Storm *Borghetto*, a Town ſeated at the Foot of thoſe Mountains, and defended by *Baldes*, a Captain in the King of *Aragon*'s Guards, with a conſiderable Number of Foot. And if they had haſtened with due Expedition to ſeize the Paſs of *Roncifvalle*, Hunger alone would have been ſufficient to ſubdue the *Spaniſh* Army, which would have been ſurrounded with Enemies on all Sides, in

a

a Country beyond Meaſure rugged and difficult. But they were prevented by the Expeditiouſneſs of the Duke of *Alva*, who leaving a Garriſon of a Thouſand Foot in *St. Jean Pied de Port*, with all the Artillery, paſſed to *Pampelona* through the Paſs of *Roncifvalle* before the Enemy arrived. But the King of *Navarre* and *Paliſſe*, who had received a Reinforcement of Four Hundred Lances and Seven Thouſand *German* Foot from the Dauphine, being diſappointed of their Hopes, made their Appearance before *Pampelona* with four Pieces of Artillery, which they had conveyed with great Difficulty over the rough and craggy Mountains. They attempted to take the Place by Storm, but were repulſed, and conſtrained by the Seaſon of the Year, it being in *December*, and the Want of Proviſions in that barren Country, to raiſe the Siege, and repaſs the *Pirenees*, on which by the Difficulties of the Paſſes, and the Obſtructions they met with from the Peaſants, they were forced to leave their Artillery. At the ſame time *Lautrech*, who had made an Inroad into *Biſcay* with Three Hundred Lances and Three

A. D. 1512.

A. D. 1512. Three Thouſand Foot, and plundered and burnt all that came in his Way, after an unſucceſsful Attempt on the Town of *St. Sebaſtian*, repaſſed the Mountains, and returned to the Army, which, having nothing farther to fear or hope, broke up, and left the King of *Aragon* in free and peaceable Poſſeſſion of the Kingdom of *Navarre*.

At this Time it came to be diſcovered that *Ferdinando*, Son of *Federigo*, late King of *Naples*, and declared Duke of *Calabria*, had made a private Agreement with the King of *France*, and was contriving to make his Eſcape to the *French* Army, which lay not far from the Town of *Logrogna*. On this Diſcovery the King of *Aragon*, who was at that Time in *Logrogna*, ſent the young Prince to the Caſtle of *Sciativa*, in which the Kings of *Aragon* uſe to impriſon ſuch Perſons as are diſtinguiſhed by their Nobility, or extraordinary Merit; and *Filippo Copola*, a *Neapolitan*, who had gone ſecretly to the King of *France* to treat about the Affair, was quartered; Fortune ſo varying the Lot

Lot of Mortals, that he received his Puniſhment in the Service of a Prince whoſe Grandfather by the Father's Side had cauſed his Father the Count *di Sarni* to be beheaded. And the Diſcovery of this Conſpiracy, which had its Original from a Fryar who was privately ſent to *Ferdinando* from the Duke of *Ferrara*, had ſome Influence on the Affairs of *Italy*: For the Catholic King, who was before inclined to ſatisfy the Pope, was now much more incited to it by this Affront, ſo that he ſent Orders to the Viceroy and his Ambaſſador at *Rome* to lead his Army againſt *Ferrara* whenever the Pope pleaſed, without demanding any Money of him more than was neceſſary for the Subſiſtence of the Soldiers. A. D. 1512.

THESE were the Tranſactions during the Courſe of this Year in *Italy*, *France* and *Spain*. The following Year 1513 was as full of memorable Events as the preceding: It began with a Ceſſation of Arms on all Sides; for the *Venetians* neither gave nor received any Moleſtation. Only the Viceroy went with Three Thouſand 1513.

A. D. 1513. ſand Foot to beſiege the Caſtle of *Trezzo*, which ſurrendered on Condition that the Garriſon might march out in Safety with their Effects. But the Minds of the People in general were diſquieted with the Thoughts of future Events; for it was known that the King of *France*, having delivered his Kingdom from Foreign Arms, and reſumed new Spirits from his numerous Levies of *German* Infantry, and the conſiderable Addition he had made to his Eſtabliſhment of Lances, had nothing ſo much in View as the Recovery of the Dutchy of *Milan*. But though he ſet his Heart upon this Enterpriſe, and was extremely deſirous to haſten it while the Caſtles of *Milan* and *Cremona* were ſtill in his Poſſeſſion, yet conſidering the great Difficulties that would occur from the Oppoſition of ſo many Enemies, and being not without Apprehenſions that the King of *England* might next Summer attack his Dominions with a very potent Army, he reſolved to make no Movement unleſs he could either ſeparate ſome of the Confederates from their common Aſſociation, or procure an Alliance with the *Venetians*. That one or other

King of *France* meditates the Recovery of *Milan*.

other of theſe Events might happen he had various Reaſons to hope from the Tranſactions of the laſt Year: For the Biſhop of *Goritz*, when he was on his Journey from *Rome* to *Milan*, had given a favourable Audience to a Domeſtic of Cardinal *San Severino*, ſent to him in the Name of the Queen of *France*, and had afterwards privately ſent to *France* a Confidant of his own with Overtures, propoſing that the King ſhould aſſiſt *Cæſar* againſt the *Venetians*; that a Marriage ſhould be contracted between the ſecond Daughter of the King and *Cæſar*'s Grandſon *Charles*, with the Dutchy of *Milan* for her Dowry; that the King ſhould make over to his Daughter and future Son-in-law his Pretenſions to the Kingdom of *Naples*; and that the Emperor might not be obliged to truſt to bare Words and Promiſes, the Spouſe ſhould immediately be delivered into his Hands; and that when the King ſhould have recovered the Dutchy of *Milan*, *Cremona* and the *Ghiaradadda* ſhould be put in the Poſſeſſion of *Cæſar*. The King was alſo in Hopes of entering into an Alliance with the *Venetians*, who

A. D. 1513.

Grounds of his Hopes of Succeſs.

were

A. D. 1513. were highly provoked at the Viceroy's taking Poſſeſſion of *Breſcia*, and much more at the ſubſequent Convention at *Rome* between the Pope and *Cæſar*; for which Reaſon the King, taking Advantage of that Juncture, had very privately ordered to Court *Andrea Gritti*, who was taken at *Breſcia*, and ſtill remained a Priſoner in *France*, and contrived that *Gianjacopo da Trivulzi*, in whom the *Venetians* put great Confidence, ſhould, under Pretence of other Buſineſs, ſend his Secretary to *Venice*. He had alſo ſome Proſpect of an Agreement with the King of *Aragon*, who, according to his uſual Way of entruſting his Concerns with Perſons in religious Orders, had privately ſent into *France* two Fryars, who, under a Show of Zeal for the public Good, ſhould begin with addreſſing the Queen with Propoſals relating to a Peace, either univerſal, or particular between the two Kings. But they had but ſmall Hopes of Succeſs, for the King of *France* knew that his Catholic Majeſty intended to retain *Navarre*, and that it would be an Act of great Cruelty, and of the higheſt Indignity imaginable,

imaginable, to abandon a King who, for procuring his Friendſhip, and in Confidence of his Aſſiſtance, was fallen into ſo great a Calamity. A. D. 1513.

BUT the chief Concern of the King of *France* was a Reconciliation with the *Swiſs*, on which he knew that Victory infallibly depended, by the vaſt Authority which that Nation had at preſent obtained, not only by the Terror of their Arms, but by their Conduct, which no longer appeared like that of mercenary Soldiers or Graſiers, but of Men educated in the Adminiſtration of States, keeping a ſtrict Eye, as is uſual in a well managed Commonwealth, over every Step taken in public Affairs, and ſuffering no Movement to be made but at their Diſcretion. Hence *Swiſſerland* became the Reſidence of Ambaſſadors from all the Chriſtian Princes, and the Pope, and almoſt all the *Italian* Powers, paid them yearly Penſions, to be received into their Confederacy, and for Permiſſion to liſt Soldiers of that Nation, when Occaſion required, for their own Defence. The *Swiſs*, grown proud at *Swiſs* in great Reputation.

A. D. 1513. this Authority, and remembering that by their Arms firſt *Charles* King of *France* had ſubverted the happy State of *Italy*, and *Lewis* his Succeſſor had acquired the Dutchy of *Milan*, recovered *Genoa*, and overthrown the *Venetians*, they behaved towards every one after an imperious and inſolent Manner. The King of *France*, however, beſides the Encouragement given him by many private Perſons among the *Swiſs*, and his perſuading himſelf that he ſhould work upon them by Offers of a very large Sum of Money, entertained Hopes of Succeſs becauſe the Cantons had never ratified the Agreement concluded between the Government of *Milan* in the Name of *Maſſimiliano Sforza* and their Ambaſſadors, by which, as ſoon as he ſhould be put in Poſſeſſion of the Dutchy of *Milan* and its Fortreſſes, he was to pay them an Hundred and Fifty Thouſand Ducats, and Forty Thouſand more every Year for Five and Twenty Years to come, on which Conſideration they were to receive him under their Protection, and allow him to liſt their Foot into his Service. Wherefore in the Beginning of this

Courted by the King of *France*.

this Year the King, tho' he had before in vain attempted to obtain an Audience for the Ambaſſadors whom he deſigned to ſend in order to treat about a Reconciliation, conſented to give them free Poſſeſſion of the Fortreſſes of the *Val di Lugana*, and *Lugarna*, as a Price at which he deſired to purchaſe only a bare Hearing. With ſo much Indignity did great Princes court the Friendſhip of that Nation! A. D. 1513.

Mons. *de la Tremouille* then, by Commiſſion from the King, arrived at *Lucern*, where a Diet was called to give him an Audience. But tho' he met with a chearful Reception, he ſoon found that his Labours in regard to the Dutchy of *Milan* would be fruitleſs. For a few Days before Six of the Cantons had ratified and ſigned the Articles of the Agreement made with *Maſſimiliano Sforza*, three had reſolved to ratify it, and the other three ſeemed as yet to ſtand in Suſpenſe. There was no more Talk therefore about the Affair of *Milan*, but *Tremouille* propoſed to them their Aſſiſtance of the King at leaſt in the Recovery of *Genoa* and *Aſti*,

A. D. 1513. which were not included in the Convention made with *Maſſimiliano*. To give Weight to this Demand *Trivulzio*, under Pretence of treating about his private Concerns, requeſted Leave to come to the Diet, and obtained a Paſs, but on Condition that he ſhould treat of nothing relating to the King of *France*; and as ſoon as he was arrived at *Lucern*, he received Orders not ſo much as to converſe with *Tremouille* either in public or private. At laſt the Articles of the Treaty with the Duke of *Milan* were ratified by the common Conſent of all the Cantons, and every Demand of the King of *France* was rejected, and it was further reſolved that no Leave ſhould be granted him to liſt Soldiers of their Nation for his Service either in *Italy* or elſewhere.

Demands of the King of *France* rejected by the *Swiſs*.

THE King of *France* thus excluded by the *Swiſs*, found it neceſſary to reconcile himſelf either with *Cæſar* or with the *Venetians*, who at the ſame time were treating alſo with *Cæſar*. For the Confederates entertaining a Suſpicion of their embracing a Reconciliation with the King

of

of *France*, *Goritz* consented that they should retain *Vicenza*. But the Senate taking Encouragement from the same Cause as excited the Fears of the Enemy, refused to make Peace without the Restitution of *Verona*, for which they offered to recompense *Cæsar* with the larger Sum of Money. But finding their Demand attended with Difficulties, they were the more inclined to embrace the Friendship of the *French*, and agreed, by *Trivulzio*'s Secretary, to enter into a Confederacy with the King on the Foot of the first Alliance, by which they were to have the Possession of *Cremona* and the *Ghiaradadda*. But the Secretary having expressly mentioned in the Instrument that nothing should be of any Validity unless it were approved by the King within a certain Time, various were the Debates in Council whether it was more expedient to chuse a Reconciliation with the Emperor, or a Confederacy with the *Venetians*. *Robertet*, a Secretary of State, and of great Authority, *Trivulzio*, and almost all the chief Men of the Council advised the latter, representing that present Experience had de-

A. D. 1513.

Debate in the *French* Council on chusing an Ally.

A. D. 1513. demonſtrated the great Prejudice they had received from the Inconſtancy of *Cæſar*, the Hatred he had conceived againſt the King, and his Deſire to revenge himſelf, eſpecially as they had learnt with deep Concern from Authors of no mean Credit, that he had been often heard to ſay, and very lately, that he had fixed in his Mind the Memory of ſeventeen Injuries that he had received from the *French*, and that he would not loſe the Opportunity which now offered of revenging himſelf for every one of them; that he would enter into a Treaty with no other Deſign than, by means of a fraudulent Reconciliation, to have the greater Conveniency to do Miſchief, or at leaſt interrupt what he knew to be under Negotiation with the *Venetians*, or to retard the Preparations of War; that the Man deſerved no Pity nor Excuſe who being once deceived by another, was ſo unwary as ever to truſt him again.

Reaſons for preferring the *Venetians*.

ON the Contrary the Cardinal of *San Severino*, induced rather by his Zeal for a Party in Oppoſition to *Trivulzio*, as his Ad-

Adverſaries ſaid, than for any other Reaſon, becauſe when he was in *Milan* he himſelf with his Brothers had always followed the Faction of the *Ghibellines*, replied, that nothing would be more for the King's Intereſt than to aſſociate himſelf with *Cæſar* in order to break the Union between his Enemies, eſpecially when a Conjunction could be effected by ſuch Means, as, it was to be hoped, would render it durable; that it was the Property of Princes in their Reſolutions always to prefer Intereſt before Benevolence, Hatred, or any other Paſſion; and what could be of greater Benefit to *Cæſar* than a preſent Aſſiſtance againſt the *Venetians*, and putting him in Hopes that his Grandſon would ſucceed to the Dutchy of *Milan*? If *Cæſar* were once ſeparated from the others, the Catholic King would make no Oppoſition to his Authority, out of Regard to the Intereſt of his Grandſon, and for other Conſiderations; and nothing could ſtrike a greater Terror into the Pope. On the contrary, a Confederacy with the *Venetians* would be highly diſhonourable on account of the Ceſſion which muſt be

A. D. 1513

Cardinal *S. Severino* adviſes an Alliance with *Cæſar*.

A. D. 1513. made to them of *Cremona* and the *Ghiaradadda*, which are ſo eſſential Parts of the Dutchy of *Milan*, that the King had ſet all *Europe* in a Combuſtion to recover them; and yet a Conjunction with the *Venetians* was not ſufficient to obtain the Victory, if the Union between the others were not diſſolved.

Alliance with *Cæſar* ſollicited in vain.

THIS Opinion at laſt prevailed through the Authority of the Queen, who was deſirous of the Aggrandizement of her Daughter, provided that till the Time of Marriage ſhe might be permitted to remain under the Tuition of her Mother, who would engage her Word to keep her in the Name of *Cæſar* as a Spouſe deſigned for his Grandſon, and to reſign her to her Huſband, as ſoon as ſhe ſhould be of an Age fit for Matrimony. But the King being afterwards aſſured that *Cæſar* would not conſent to this Reſtriction, and, what is more, that he had artfully made his Propoſals rather to give him Occaſion to proceed more ſlowly in his other Projects, caſt off all Thoughts of this Negotiation, and recalled *Aſparot*, Brother of *Lautrec*, who

who had ſet out from Court with his Commiſſion to treat with *Goritz* on this Affair. A. D. 1513.

ON the other Side, the Apprehenſions of a Union between the King of *France* and the *Venetians* increaſing daily, the King of *Aragon* adviſed *Cæſar* to reſtore *Verona*; and propoſed to him, with the Help of the Money which he would receive of the *Venetians*, and with the *Spaniſh* Army, to remove the War into *Burgundy*. Of the ſame Opinion was *Goritz*, who, in Hopes that he could work upon *Cæſar* by his Preſence, returned to *Germany*, attended not only by Don *Pedro Durrea*, who came with him, but alſo by *Giovan Battiſta Spinello* Count of *Carriati*, the *Spaniſh* Ambaſſador at *Venice*, having firſt induced the Senate, that no new Difficulties might interrupt the depending Negotiation, to make a Truce for the whole Month of *March*, and paſſed his Word to the ſaid Ambaſſadors that *Cæſar* ſhould reſtore *Verona*, on a Promiſe of the Payment of Two Hundred and Fifty Thouſand Ducats at certain Times, and Fifty Thouſand Ducats yearly. *Cæſar* adviſed to Peace with the *Venetians*.

IN

A. D. 1513.

Pope falls sick.

His vaſt Projects.

IN this turbulent Juncture and troubleſome Times, the Pope fell Sick at a Time when his Imagination was teeming with grander Ideas and Conceptions than, perhaps, it had ever been before, for his Schemes were not contracted, but always enlarged by the Accompliſhment of his Deſires. Hence he had reſolved to undertake in the Beginning of the Spring the Enterpriſe ſo long meditated againſt *Ferrara*. That City being left deſtitute of all Aſſiſtance, and expecting to be attacked by the Eccleſiaſtic Troops in conjunction with the *Spaniſh* Army, it was believed, would make but ſmall Reſiſtance. He had ſecretly purchaſed of *Cæſar* for Thirty Thouſand Ducats the City of *Siena* for the Duke of *Urbino*, to whom he would never grant any Lands belonging to the Eccleſiaſtic State except *Peſaro*, that he might preſerve unblemiſhed the Glory of ſincerely ſeeking the Aggrandiſement of the Church. He had agreed to lend *Cæſar* Forty Thouſand Ducats, for which he was to receive *Modena* in Pledge. He threatened the *Luccheſe* for having in the

the Troubles of the Duke of *Ferrara* seized on the *Carfagnana*, and insisted that they should give it up to him. His Indignation was kindled against the Cardinal *de' Medici*, because he fancied that he was more devoted to the Catholic King than to himself, and because he was vexed that he had it not in his Power, as he had before imagined, to dispose of *Florence*, having formed new Designs, and new Negotiations, to change the State of that City. He was angry with the Cardinal of *Sion* for appropriating to himself a Revenue of above Thirty Thousand Ducats yearly out of the Estates and Possessions of several Persons in the Dutchy of *Milan*, and had deprived him of the Title of Legate, and cited him to *Rome*. The better to establish the Duke of *Urbino* in the Government of *Siena* by a good Understanding with his Neighbours, he had lately taken into his Pay *Carlo Baglione* with a Design to expel from *Perugia Gian Pagolo*, who was very closely allied by Affinity to the Sons of *Pandolfo Petrucci*, Successors to their Father's Grandeur. He designed to constitute *Ottaviano* *Fre-* A. D. 1513.

A. D. 1513. *Fregoſo* Doge of *Genoa*, and to remove *Janus* from that Dignity, with the Conſent of the other *Fregoſi*, becauſe it appeared from the Rank which the Anceſtors of *Ottaviano* had held in that City that the Office belonged rather to him. He had it continually in his Thoughts to remove out of *Italy*, or oppreſs by Help of the *Swiſs*, whom alone he magnified and careſſed, the *Spaniſh* Army, that he might ſeize on the Kingdom of *Naples*, by which Means *Italy* would remain (to uſe his own frequent Expreſſion) free from Barbarians*. With this View he had prevented the *Swiſs* from entering into a Confederacy with the Catholic King; and yet, as if it had been in his Power to ſmite all the World at once, he continued eagerly bent againſt the King of *France*, though he had given Audience to a Meſſenger from the Queen, and

* *Julius* was ſo fond of the Title of *Deliverer of* Italy, that he permitted every one to give it him. But Cardinal *Grimani* freely telling him one Day that there yet remained under the Yoke the Kingdom of *Naples*, one of the largeſt and richeſt Members of *Italy*, the Pope ſhaking his Staff on which he leaned, and fretting with Anger, replied, that in a ſhort Time, unleſs Heaven had otherwiſe diſpoſed, the *Neapolitans* as well as the reſt ſhould have the Yoke taken off their Necks. *Giovio*, in his Life of *Alfonſo*.

and excited againſt him the Arms of the King of *England*, to whom he had appointed that the Title of *Moſt Chriſtian King* ſhould be transferred by a Decree of the *Lateran* Council, for which Purpoſe there was already drawn up a Bull, which alſo contained a Deprivation of *Lewis* of the Dignity and Title of King of *France*, with Leave for any one to ſeize upon that Kingdom. *A. D.* 1513.

In the Midſt of ſuch and ſo great Deſigns, and perhaps of greater unknown (for of ſo fierce and reſolute a Mind no Conception is incredible, however vaſt and boundleſs) Death intervened after a Sickneſs of many Days. When he was ſenſible that he was drawing near his End, he ordered a Conſiſtory to be called, at which his Weakneſs would not permit him to be preſent in Perſon, but he cauſed the Bull to be confirmed which he had before publiſhed againſt him who ſhould obtain the Pontificate by Simony, and declared the Election of a Succeſſor to belong to the College of Cardinals, and not to a Council, and that the Schiſmatic Cardinals Death of Pope *Julius* II.

A. D. 1513. dinals ſhould have no Power to intervene in the Election; but he forgave them, he ſaid, all their Offences committed againſt himſelf, and prayed God to pardon them the Injuries they had done to his Church. After this he beſeeched the College of Cardinals to gratify him ſo far as to grant the City of *Peſaro* in Vicarage to the Duke of *Urbino*, putting them in mind that it was chiefly by means of that Duke that at the Death of *Giovanni Sforza* it had been recovered to the Church. This was the only Inſtance in which he ſhewed any private Affection or Concern for his own Family; on the contrary, when the Lady *Felice* his Daughter inſtantly beſought him, as did many others by her Interceſſion, to create *Guido da Montefalco* a Cardinal, becauſe they were Brother and Siſter by the Mother's Side, he poſitively anſwered that he was not a Perſon worthy of that Dignity. Thus in all Reſpects retaining his uſual Conſtancy and Severity, with the ſame Judgment and Vigour of Mind which he enjoyed before his Sickneſs, after devoutly receiving the Sacraments of the Church, on the Night of *February* 21,

when

when it was near Day, he finiſhed the Courſe of his painful Life.* *A. D.* 1513.

His Character.

He was a Prince of ineſtimable Courage and Conſtancy, but impetuous, and boundleſs in his Conceptions, which would have carried him headlong to his own Ruine, had he not been ſuſtained more by the Reverence of the Church, the Diſcord of Princes, and the Condition of the Times, than by his own Moderation or Prudence. He would certainly have been worthy of the higheſt Honour had he been a ſecular Prince, or employed the ſame Ardor and Vigilance with which he proſecuted the Advancement of the Church in temporal Greatneſs by the Force of Arms, in promoting her Progreſs towards Purity and ſpiritual Perfection by the milder Arts of Peace. His Memory, however, is moſt dear and honoured above that of all his Predeceſſors, eſpecially by thoſe who having loſt the true Names of Things, and confounded the Diſtinction that ariſes from weighing them in a juſt Balance, think it more the Duty

* *Gradinico* and *Giuſtiniano* write that he died under an Oppreſſion of Grief, being apprehenſive that he ſhould be depoſed by the Council from the Popedom.

A. D. 1513. Duty of Pontiffs to increaſe the Empire of the Apoſtolic See by Arms and the Blood of Chriſtians, than to ſtrive and labour, by the Example of a good Life, and by correcting and healing a Degeneracy and Corruption of Manners, to promote the Salvation of thoſe Souls for whoſe Benefit they boaſt that Chriſt has conſtituted them his Vicars upon Earth.

Conſequences of his Death. ON Advice of the Pope's Death the Viceroy of *Naples* marched with the *Spaniſh* Soldiers towards *Piacenza*, and conſtrained that City to return, as it formerly uſed to be, under the Dominion of the Dukes of *Milan*; and the *Parmeſans*, induced by the ſame Terror, followed the Example of the *Piacentines*. On the other Side the Duke of *Ferrara* ſoon recovered his Towns in *Romagna*, and then came before *Reggio*; but his Approach occaſioning no Commotion in the Place, he would not venture to ſtay there, becauſe the *Spaniſh* Army had extended their Quarters between *Piacenza* and *Reggio*. There was no other Movement in the Eccleſiaſtic State, nor did *Rome* or the College of Cardinals

dinals find themſelves under thoſe Difficulties that had embarraſſed them at the Death of the two laſt Pontiffs. Wherefore, after the Performance of the funeral Rites according to Cuſtom, Five and Twenty Cardinals peaceably entered the Conclave, having firſt declared the Marquis of *Mantoua*'s Son, whom *Julius* had kept as a Hoſtage, free from his Word of Honour, and at Liberty to return to his Father. The firſt Care of the Conclave was to moderate, by very ſtrict Articles, the Authority of the future Pontiff, which the Deceaſed, they ſaid, had exerciſed beyond the Bounds of Moderation; but as among Men ſome have not the Courage to oppoſe the Will of the Prince, and others are ſollicitous to gain his Favour, ſo theſe ſame Perſons not long after voluntarily repealed almoſt every one of theſe Articles. *A. D.* 1513.

ON the Seventh Day of the Conclave the Cardinals unanimouſly elected Pontiff *Giovanni* Cardinal *de' Medici*, who aſſumed the Name of *Leo* X. aged 37; which was very ſurpriſing on account of his Youth with Regard to the Cuſtom of paſt Times, Pope *Leo* X

A. D. 1513. but principally owing to the Diligence of the young Cardinals, who had long before tacitly agreed together to create the firſt Pontiff out of their own Number. This Election gave vaſt Satisfaction to almoſt all Chriſtendom; every one perſuading himſelf that *Leo* would prove a moſt accompliſhed Pontiff, from the dear Memory of his Father's Merits, and from the Fame which ſpread every where of his own Liberality and good Nature, having the Reputation of a chaſte Perſon, and of unblameable Manners; and it was hoped too that he would imitate the Example of his Father in being a Lover of learned Men, and of all thoſe of an illuſtrious Genius; and thoſe Expectations were increaſed by conſidering that he was choſen fairly without Simony, or Suſpicion of any corrupt Practice. It ſeemed alſo as if Heaven itſelf gave its Approbation in the very Beginning of this Pontificate, for in the fourth Day after the Election the deprived Cardinals of *Santa Croce* and *San Severino* came into the Power of the new Pope. Theſe Prelates having Advice of the Death of *Julius* ſet out for *Rome* by Sea, accompanied

panied by the *French* Ambaſſador, and put in at *Leghorn*, where being informed of the Election of the Cardinal *de' Medici*, truſting to his Good-nature, and the Cardinal of *San Severino* in particular depending on his intimate Friendſhip with the new Pontiff and his Brother, obtained a Paſs of the Governor of *Leghorn*, which did not extend beyond the Bounds of his Juriſdiction, and went aſhore. From *Leghorn*, without requiring any farther Security, they boldly ventured to *Piſa*, in which City they were reſpectfully received, and thence conducted to *Florence*, where they were put under honourable Cuſtody, without any Power to depart. They were confined at the Deſire of the Pontiff, who by the Biſhop of *Orvieto*, ſent for that Purpoſe, exhorted them, with very civil and gracious Expreſſions, that for their own Security, and for the Good of the Church, they would be content to ſtay at *Florence* till it ſhould be determined in what Manner it was proper for them to go to *Rome*; and that, ſince they had been legally deprived of their Dignity, and their Deprivation was confirmed in the *Lateran* Council, they

A. D. 1513.

Two Schiſmatic Cardinals in Cuſtody.

A. D. 1513. would no longer appear in the Habit of Cardinals, for their ſhewing outward Marks of Humiliation would facilitate his Deſign of reſtoring their Affairs to a happy Situation.

Pompous Coronation of the new Pope.

The firſt Tranſaction of the new Pope was his Coronation, which was performed, according to Cuſtom, in the Church of *San Giovanni Laterano*, with ſo pompous an Appearance of his Family and Court, of all the Prelates, and many Nobles from divers Parts, and with ſo great a Concourſe of the *Roman* People, that it was univerſally believed that *Rome* had never ſeen a more ſuperb and magnificent Day ſince the Inundations of the Barbarians. In this Solemnity the Standard of the Church was carried by *Alfonſo d'Eſte*, who had obtained a Suſpenſion of his Cenſures, and was come to *Rome* in great Hopes, from the gentle Diſpoſition of the Pope, to ſettle his Affairs. The Standard of the Knights* of *Rhodes* was carried by *Giulio de' Medici*,

* Orig. *Religione*; for the Knights of *Rhodes*, now Knights of *Malta*, were a religious Order, wore a Habit and Croſs, and were ſworn, like the Knights Templars, to defend the Chriſtian Faith againſt the Infidels.

Medici, all in Armour, and mounted on a large Courſer; he was by Nature inclined to the Profeſſion of Arms, but his Deſtiny drew him againſt his Will to a ſacerdotal Life, in which he was to be a ſurpriſing Example of the Variety of Fortune, and what rendered that Day the more memorable and remarkable, was to conſider that the Man who now carried with ſo much Pomp and Splendor the Enſigns of ſo great a Dignity, had but the Year before on the ſame Day been made a miſerable Captive. This magnificent Parade confirmed the Vulgar in their Expectations from this Pontificate, every one flattering himſelf with Happineſs under a Pontiff that abounded in Liberality, and delighted in Splendor, for it is certain that the Expences of that Day amounted to an Hundred Thouſand Ducats. But Men of better Judgment would have been more pleaſed if the Affair had been conducted with greater Gravity and Moderation, being of Opinion that ſo much Pomp did not become a Pontiff, and that it was by no means ſuitable to the Condition of the preſent Times to ſquander away the Trea- A. D. 1513.

A. D. 1513. ſure accumulated by his Predeceſſor in uſeleſs Expences.

BUT neither the Change of the Pontiff nor any other Events were ſufficient to eſtabliſh the Quiet of *Italy*; on the contrary, the Diſpoſition of Affairs began manifeſtly to tend more to War than to Peace.

Cæſar refuſes to reſtore Verona. For *Cæſar* being quite averſe to the Reſtitution of *Verona*, by which he imagined that he ſhould deprive himſelf of an eaſy Entrance into *Italy*, though the Truce had been prolonged for all *April*, rejected the Articles of the Agreement negotiated at *Milan*; and being diſguſted at the Importunities of the Ambaſſadors of the Catholic King, told the Count *di Carriati* that, from the Inclination which he ſhewed towards the *Venetians*, he ought rather to be called a *Venetian* than a *Spaniſh* Ambaſſador.

THIS Tendency of Affairs towards a Rupture was yet much more increaſed by the Truce made between the moſt Chriſtian and Catholic Kings, for a Year only, for their Dominions beyond the Mountains.

Truce between the Kings of France and Aragon.

By

By this Truce the King of *France*, being freed from all Apprehenſions on the Side of *Spain*, found it very eaſy to renew the War in the Dutchy of *Milan*. The Catholic King was at all Times averſe to a War with the *French* on the other Side of the Mountains; for not abounding with Money, and therefore obliged to aſſiſt himſelf with the Forces of the Nobility and People of *Spain*, either theſe Succours were not in due Readineſs, or he was neceſſitated in Time of War to ſtand as it were in Subjection to their Pleaſure. But at this Juncture he was mightily confirmed in his old Counſels by his Deſire to eſtabliſh his newly acquired Kingdom of *Navarre* in Peace, and much more becauſe, ſince the Death of *Iſabella*, being no longer King but Governor of *Caſtile*, he had not ſo well founded his Authority in troubleſome Times, as he had lately found by Experience in the Defence of *Navarre*, which, though it ended happily, was however rendered very hazardous by the Slowneſs of the Succours. The King therefore, unwilling to be reduced to ſuch Straits, agreed on the Truce before he knew of A. D. 1513.

A. D. 1513. the Death of the Pontiff, though it had not been publiſhed till he was informed of the Election of another. He alledged, in Juſtification of this unexpected Reſolution, that the Pope and the *Venetians* had violated the League, ſince after the Battle of *Ravenna* they would never pay the Forty Thouſand Ducats, which they were bound to do as long as the *French* had any Poſſeſſions in *Italy*. As for himſelf it was manifeſt he had only in View the common Welfare of the Confederates, for he had not appropriated to himſelf the Rewards of the common Victory, nor poſſeſſed in *Italy* ſo much as a ſmall Tower more than what he was in Poſſeſſion of before the War. But the Pope had his private Ends in Proſpect, and had made a Property of what ſhould have remained in common, by ſeizing on *Parma*, *Piacenza* and *Reggio*, and had employed all his Thoughts on making himſelf Maſter alſo of *Ferrara*; by this covetous Deſire he had diſturbed the Meaſures for the Recovery of the Fortreſſes of the Dutchy of *Milan*, and the Lantern of *Genoa*: That he himſelf had interpoſed all his Diligence and Authority

Motives of the King of *Aragon*.

thority for procuring an Agreement between *Cæſar* and the *Venetians*, but that the Pope had for his own Intereſt precipitately excluded the *Venetians* from the League; in which Affair his own Ambaſſadors had acted imprudently, for they had not conſented that his Name ſhould be inſerted in the Article in which the Confederacy was introduced, becauſe they knew that ſuch was his Intention, and yet had ſuffered him to be named in the Article by which the *Venetians* were excluded: That the *Venetians* had not in that Tranſaction behaved in a Manner anſwerable to the Opinion People had entertained of their Prudence, having ſet ſo high a Value on *Vicenza* as to reſolve not to part with it, though it were to free themſelves from a burdenſome War: That it was impoſſible for him to maintain the Army which he had in *Italy* without the Payment of the Subſidies which had been promiſed him; and he was leſs able to ſuſtain the whole War on the Frontiers of his own Kingdoms, which he well knew all the reſt deſired, and were labouring to procure: That the Pontiff did not diſſemble his late

A. D. 1513.

A. D. 1513 late unjuſt Deſire to deprive him of the Kingdom of *Naples:* That he was not however moved by theſe Injuries to think of abandoning the Church or the other States of *Italy*, while he found a ſuitable Correſpondence, and that he was in Hopes that the Powers concerned, being induced by the Truce which he had made with the King, would be the more ready to enter into an Agreement with him for their mutual Defence. *Ferdinando* had inſerted in the Inſtrument of the Truce the Names of *Cæſar* and the King of *England*, tho' he had communicated nothing of the Negotiation to either of theſe Princes; and it was ridiculous to obſerve, at the Time when the Truce was ſolemnly proclaimed throughout all *Spain*, the Arrival of a Herald from the King of *England* to notify the vaſt Preparations made by his Maſter for attacking the Kingdom of *France*, and to ſollicit the King of *Aragon* to be ready at the ſame time, as he had promiſed, to invade it on the Side of *Spain*.

A. D. 1513.

THE Truce made in this Manner ſtruck the greateſt Terror into all the *Italians* who had been uneaſy under the *French* Government, as they were firmly perſuaded that the King of *France* would ſend with all Speed an Army on this Side the Mountains, that, through *Cæſar*'s obſtinate Refuſal of a Peace, the *Venetians* would join with the *French*, and that it would be very difficult to reſiſt their united Forces, becauſe the *Spaniſh* Army, that had Time after Time drawn Sums of Money from the State of *Milan*, which was impoveriſhed and exhauſted with infinite Expences, had no longer any Means of Subſiſtence. As to the new Pontiff, they could not as yet dive into his Intentions, for tho' he was thought ſecretly to wiſh that the Power of the King of *France* might be bounded by the Mountains, yet being but newly placed in the pontifical Chair, and as much perplexed as the reſt at the Truce made by the Catholic King at a Time when he was believed to be employing all his Thoughts on War, he ſtood in great Suſpenſe of Mind, being diſguſted alſo

Italy alarmed at the Truce.

A. D. 1513. alſo that when he had ſollicited with great Earneſtneſs the Reſtitution of *Parma* and *Piacenza* to the Church, he found a Readineſs to give him Hopes, but Slowneſs in the Execution, all the other Allies being deſirous to preſerve thoſe Cities to the Dutchy of *Milan*, and perhaps expecting that the Pope's Deſire to recover them would induce him to the Defence of that State. The Aſſiſtance of the *Swiſs* was more certain as well as more powerful; but when it was conſidered that neither *Maſſimiliano Sforza* nor the other Confederates were in a Condition to advance the Money neceſſary, according to Agreements, to put them in Motion, it was feared they would refuſe to deſcend into the State of *Milan* when they were moſt wanted.

ON the other Side the King of *France*, depending on the Truce, reſolved to ſend an Army into *Italy*, being put in Hopes of Succeſs by the Reaſons mentioned above, to which might be added that he knew very well that the People of the State of *Milan*, being plagued with the repeated

repeated Exactions and Rapines of the *Swiſs*, and the Quarters and Payments provided for the *Spaniards*, heartily wiſhed to return under his Dominion, having found by Experience the Government of the *French* eaſy and deſirable in compariſon of the ſevere and oppreſſive Adminiſtration of others. Beſides, many private Noblemen, by particular Meſſages, directed ſome to the King, others to *Trivulzio*, whom the King had ſent to *Lions*, that he might be nearer at hand to treat with the *Milaneſe*, encouraged his Majeſty not to delay the March of his Army, promiſing, as ſoon as it had paſſed the Mountains, to take up Arms, and openly declare for him. To theſe Motives were added the conſtant and preſſing Sollicitations of *Trivulzio* and of the other Exiles, who, as is uſual with thoſe who are forced to leave their native Country, repreſented the Undertaking as very eaſy, eſpecially as the *Venetians* were to aſſiſt in it. The King was alſo conſtrained to haſten his Enterpriſe by flattering himſelf that he ſhould be able to attain his Ends before he was attacked by the King of *England*, who

A. D. 1513.

King of *France* invited to recover *Milan*.

A. D. 1513. who could not be in Readineſs till after ſome Months. For the Kingdom of *England*, having been for many Years in a State of Peace, was unprovided of Armour, Artillery, and almoſt of every Thing elſe neceſſary for a War; there were no War-Horſes, becauſe the *Engliſh* fight all their Battles on Foot, and their Infantry too being unexperienced, it was neceſſary for the King, who deſigned to paſs into *France* with a very powerful Force, to hire a great Number of *German* Foot; all which Proviſions could not be made under ſome Length of Time. What further urged the King to make the utmoſt Expedition was his Fear of loſing the Caſtles for Want of Proviſions, and particularly the Lantern of *Genoa*, into which he had a few Days before unſucceſsfully attempted to put a Supply of Proviſions by a Ship ſent for that Purpoſe. This Veſſel ſailed out of the Port of *Albenga*, whither ſhe had been convoyed by three Ships and a Galeon, with a proſperous Gale, by favour of which ſhe paſſed through the Midſt of the *Genoeſe* Fleet, and caſt Anchor under the Caſtle,

to

to which ſhe faſtened herſelf by a Cable, and began to unload her Proviſions. But *Andrea Doria*, who was afterwards ſo famous and ſucceſsful a Commander at Sea, very dangerouſly thruſt in with a large Veſſel, of which he was Maſter, between the Lantern and the *French* Ship, and cutting the Cable that faſtened her to the Caſtle, with the Cables of her Anchors, attacked her with great Reſolution, and tho' in the Engagement he received a Wound in the Face, he yet took her. *A. D.* 1513.

Brave Action of *Andrea Doria*.

THE King therefore reſolving to begin the War without Delay, for which Purpoſe, that he might be ready on all Occaſions, he had before ſent a great Number of Lances into *Burgundy* and *Dauphine*, applied himſelf with all Diligence to perfect the Treaty with the *Venetians*, which had been many Months under Debate, but had met with Delays and Obſtructions as well from one Party as from the other. For the King was held in Suſpenſe ſometimes by his Hopes of a Peace with *Cæſar*, ſometimes by the obſtinate Demand that the *Venetians* made of *Cremona* and the *Ghia-*

A. D. 1513. *Ghiaradadda*. And in the *Venetian* Senate were different Opinions; for many of great Authority in the Republic propoſed an Agreement with *Cæſar*, repreſenting that it was more for their Intereſt to eaſe themſelves at preſent from ſo vaſt an Expence, and to free themſelves from Danger, that they might be enabled the more readily to embrace ſuch Opportunities as ſhould offer themſelves, than, at a Juncture when the Republic was exhauſted, and the Subſtance of private Perſons much impaired, to involve themſelves in new Wars in conjunction with the King of *France*, who had ſo lately ſhown them how much Faith and Security they were to repoſe in his Friendſhip. The major Part however being of Opinion that ſo fair an Opportunity would very rarely offer for recovering their antient State, and that an Agreement with *Cæſar* while he retained *Verona* would not free them from Troubles and Dangers, it was reſolved to enter into a Confederacy with the King of *France*, without inſiſting on *Cremona* and the *Ghiaradadda*; and the ſame was concluded in the King's Court by *Andrea Gritti*, who had

had lately appeared more like an Ambaſſador than a Priſoner. By this Treaty *Bartolomeo Alviano* and *Andrea Gritti* obtained their Liberty, the *Venetians* were bound to aſſiſt the King of *France* with Eight Hundred Men at Arms, Fifteen Hundred light Horſe, and Ten Thouſand Foot againſt all who ſhould oppoſe his Recovery of *Aſti*, *Genoa*, and the Dutchy of *Milan*; and the King was obliged to aſſiſt the *Venetians* till they had intirely recovered all that they poſſeſſed in *Lombardy* and in the Marquiſate of *Trevigi* before the League of *Cambray*. As ſoon as the Confederacy was ſtipulated *Gianjacopo da Trivulzi* and *Bartolomeo Alviano* ſet out for *Suſa*; *Alviano* that he might proceed from thence by a ſafer Way to *Venice*, and *Trivulzi* to aſſemble there the Army deſigned for the War, which conſiſted of Fifteen Hundred Lances, Eight Hundred light Horſe, and Fifteen Thouſand Foot, Eight Thouſand of whom were *Germans*, and the reſt *French*, all under the Command of M. *de la Tremouille*, whom the King, to give the more Reputation to the Proceedings, appointed his Lieutenant.

A. D. 1513.

League between the King of *France* and the *Venetians*.

A. D. 1513.

LEWIS at this Juncture very earneſtly intreated the Pope not to obſtruct the Recovery of his Dutchy, offering him not only to ſtop any farther Proceedings after that Conqueſt, but always to make Peace at the Diſcretion of his Holineſs. The Pope lent a gracious Ear to theſe Aſſurances. and, to gain the greater Credit to his Words, treated with the King by the Miniſtry and Mediation of his Brother *Giuliano*. The King, however, ſuſpected him on many Accounts; as, the Memory of Things preceding his Pontificate; his diſpatching to him, immediately upon his Aſſumption, *Cintio* his familiar Friend with a Letter expreſſing much Civility, but in ſuch general Terms as manifeſted that he was not well affected in his Heart towards him; beſides, he had given Conſent that *Proſpero Colonna* ſhould be conſtituted by the Duke of *Milan* his Captain General, which *Julius*, out of Hatred to the *Colonna's*, had always oppoſed. But what gave much more Umbrage to his Majeſty was the Pope's intimating to the King of *England* that he was willing to adhere to the

Pope ſuſpected by *Lewis*.

the Confederacy contracted with *Cæſar*, the Catholic King, and himſelf; and his Letter to the Community of the *Swiſs*, in which he ſeemed to exhort them to the Defence of *Italy*, and and did not diſſemble that he was willing to continue the Confederacy made with them by *Julius*, in which they undertook, for the yearly Penſion of Twenty Thouſand Ducats, the Protection of the Eccleſiaſtic State. *Leo* alſo ſufficiently betrayed his Inclination by not receiving the Duke of *Ferrara* into Favour, and delaying, under various Pretences, the Reſtitution of *Reggio* till the Return of his Brother the Cardinal to *Rome*, who, to avoid the Perſecutions of *Julius*, and the Inſtances of the King of *France* for his repairing to the *Piſan* Council, was retired to his Biſhopric of *Agria* in *Hungary*. But what gave the King moſt Reaſon to ſuſpect the Pontiff was that he had, though as ſecretly as it was poſſible, adviſed the *Venetian* Senate to agree with *Cæſar*; which was an Attempt in direct Oppoſition to the Deſigns of the King, who had alſo taken it ill that the Pope, pretending no other Motive than the Duty of his pontifical A. D. 1513.

A. D. 1513. Office, had written to him a Brief exhorting him to ceaſe his warlike Preparations, and to ſhew himſelf diſpoſed rather to put an End to the War by ſome honourable Compoſition: A pious Pretence, which in itſelf the King would not have blamed, if his Holineſs, moved by the ſame Deſire of Peace, had exhorted the King of *England* to forbear moleſting *France*.

Cauſes of the Pope's Diſſaffection to the *French*

THE King of *France* indeed had good Reaſon to be jealous of the Pope, for *Leo* deſired nothing more than that the *French* ſhould have no longer any Footing in *Italy*, either becauſe he thought it moſt conducive to the common Security, and to the Grandeur of the Church, or becauſe he retained the Memory of the Injuries received from the Crown of *France*. For though his Father and his other Anceſtors had been firmly attached to the *French* Intereſt, and had on ſeveral Occaſions reaped both Honour and Profit from their Adherence, yet he was moſt affected with what had more lately happened when he and his Brothers were driven out of *Florence* by the

the Coming of King *Charles*; and this preſent King was known to favour the popular Government, and had always deſpiſed the *Medici*, or if at any Time he ſeemed inclined to eſpouſe their Cauſe, it was only with a Deſign to employ them as Tools for drawing the *Florentines* by that Suſpicion into Conventions for his own Advantage, and then caſt them quite out of Remembrance. His Reſentment might perhaps too be aggravated by reflecting that after the Battle of *Ravenna* he himſelf had been carried Priſoner to *Milan*, and had been ordered by the King to be conducted to *France*. A. D. 1513.

BUT though the Pope, either for the abovementioned or for ſome other Reaſons, was thus diſaffected towards the *French*, yet, ſince he ſaw no ſtrong Foundations, as he could have wiſhed, for Reſiſtance, he was obliged to proceed with Caution, and to diſſemble, as much as he could, his Intentions, yet always gladly hearkening to any Suits or Inſtances made to him againſt the King. The *Swiſs*, who were very ready to put themſelves in Motion for

A. D. 1513. defending the Dutchy of *Milan*, offered to take the Field with a much greater Number of Men, if they were ſupplied with but a moderate Sum of Money, which, through the Inability of the other Allies, could be expected only from the Pope. But the Deſigns of the Viceroy were uncertain, and his Speeches various and myſterious: For ſometimes he offered the Pontiff to oppoſe the *French*, and openly to intereſt himſelf in the Cauſe by ſending his Troops to join with his own, and maintaining a good Number of Foot for three Months; and to make himſelf the more eaſily believed he had recalled his Soldiers from the Territories of *Parma* and *Reggio*, and was encamped with his Army on the River *Trebbia*; but ſome of his Troops, which remained in Garriſon at *Tortona* and *Aleſſandria*, he had never moved from their Quarters: Sometimes he affirmed that he had received Orders from his King, at the ſame time that he ſignified to him that he had made a Truce, to lead back the Army into the Kingdom of *Naples*.

Swiſs offer to defend *Milan*.

BUT *Gieronimo Vich*, the *Aragonian* Ambaſſador to the Pope, talked in a different

ferent Strain, in which he aſſured him that the King his Maſter promiſed, if his Holineſs would undertake the Defence of *Milan*, to have no Regard to the Truce he had made, but begin a War in *France*, which he might lawfully do without Breach of Faith. By this Conduct many were perſuaded that the King of *Aragon*, being apprehenſive that there would be none to oppoſe the Progreſs of the *French* on account of the Truce, had ordered the Viceroy that if he ſhould find no hearty Concurrence of the Allies in the Defence of the Dutchy of *Milan*, he ſhould not labour to provoke the King of *France* by new Injuries, but march off with the Army for *Naples*. And for theſe Reaſons *Ferdinando* was inclined to a Peace with *France*, and offered to bring into it *Cæſar* and the King of *England*; and to render *Lewis* the more eaſy and tractable, in caſe he ſhould recover *Milan*, he did in a manner aſſure him that his Army ſhould not oppoſe his Enterpriſe.

A. D. 1513.

Politic Conduct of the King of *Aragon*.

THE Vicercy therefore intending to depart recalled the Soldiers who were in

A. D. 1513. Garriſon at *Tortona* and *Aleſſandria* under the Marquis of *Peſcara*, ſignifying, as it was reported, at the ſame Time his Reſolution to *Trivulzio*, with an Intention that the King of *France* ſhould regard his Departure as if it were made upon his Account. He did not however immediately put his Deſign in Execution, becauſe the *Swiſs*, being moſt ardently intent on the Defence of the Dutchy of *Milan*, had by a public Decree ſent thither Five Thouſand Foot, and given Hopes of ſending a much greater Number; but, rather pretending the contrary, ſent *Proſpero Colonna* to treat with the *Swiſs* about appointing a Place for joining their Forces againſt the *French*. It was thought he proceeded in this Manner, either becauſe he had been informed that *Cæſar* was greatly diſpleaſed with the Truce, or that he had received new Orders from his King to obey the Commands of the Pontiff, who, between the Struggles of his ſmall Hopes on one Side, and his own Inclinations on the other, remained in the ſame Perplexity. The *Swiſs*, however, were arrived in the *Tortoneſe*, where, as *Proſpero*

gave

gave them Notice, the Viceroy deſigned to join them; but now that General excuſed himſelf on various Pretences, and requeſted that they would come and join him on the *Trebbia*. By this Demand they plainly perceived the Difference between his Speeches and Intentions, and fiercely anſwered, that he did not make this Requeſt in order to go boldly and face the Enemy, but that he might turn his Back with the greater Security; that it was of no Importance to the *Swiſs*, if he was afraid to fight the *French*; that it was all one to them whether he went, ſtaid, or ran away, for they were ſufficient of themſelves to defend the Dutchy of *Milan* againſt all Invaders. *A. D.* 1513.

Fierce anſwer of the *Swiſs* to the Viceroy.

BUT now the whole Country was in a Tumult; the Count of *Muſocco*, Son of *Gianjacopo*, had taken Poſſeſſion of *Aſti* and *Aleſſandria* without Oppoſition; the *French* were in full March from *Suſa*; and the Duke of *Milan* coming too late to ſecure *Aleſſandria* had joined the *Swiſs* near *Tortona*, who receiving expreſs Notice from the Viceroy that he had reſolved

to

A. D. 1513. to depart, they marched from thence to *Novara*. The *Milaneſe*, on the Report that the Viceroy was departed, ſent Ambaſſadors to *Novara*, to excuſe themſelves to the Duke for that, having none to defend them, they had, to avoid utter Deſtruction, agreed with the *French*. The Duke ſeemed to accept their Excuſes very favourably, and even commended them for affectionately conſulting the Safety of their common Country. On this Occaſion *Sacromoro Viſconti*, who commanded at the Siege of the Caſtle, revolted to the *French*, and ſupplied that Fortreſs with Proviſions.

Milan ſurrenders to the French

THE Viceroy then decampted from the *Trebbia* with all his Army, in which were Fourteen Hundred Men at Arms, and Eight Thouſand Foot, to return into the Kingdom of *Naples*, as if he deſpaired of the Affairs of *Lombardy*, and was therefore only ſollicitous to ſave his Army. But on the ſame Day, while he was on his March between *Piacenza* and *Firenzuola*, receiving Letters from *Rome*, he immediately turned about and marched back

back to his Camp. So ſudden an Alteration happened becauſe the Pope, who about this Time had *Parma* and *Piacenza* reſtored to him, having reſolved to try whether the Dutchy of *Milan* could be preſerved by Means of the *Swiſs*, had very privately delivered to *Girolamo Morone*, the Duke's Ambaſſador at *Rome*, Forty-two Thouſand Ducats to be ſent to the *Swiſs*; but with this Pretence, if it ſhould come to the Knowledge of the others, that Twenty Thouſand Ducats were on the Account of Penſions, and the other Twenty-two Thouſand in Satisfaction for what the three Cantons pretended to be due from his Predeceſſor, who had always refuſed to pay them. *A. D.* 1513. Pope ſends Money to the *Swiſs*.

By the Return of the Viceroy on the *Trebbia*, and the Report of the March of more *Swiſs*, the *Milaneſe*, repenting their haſty Reſolution, put *Maſſimiliano Sforza* in Hopes that they would return under his Dominion whenever the *Swiſs* and the *Spaniſh* Army ſhould join together in the Field. The Viceroy, who was attended by *Proſpero Colonna*, to encourage theſe

A. D. 1513. theſe Hopes, laid a Bridge over the *Po*, promiſing continually to paſs without putting it in Execution, becauſe, as he principally conſulted the Safety of his Army, he reſolved to proceed according to the Succeſs of Affairs, it appearing to him very dangerous to have in his Front the *French*, and at his Rear the *Venetians*, who having already taken Poſſeſſion of the City of *Cremona*, and thrown a Bridge over the *Po* at *Cava*, were in his Neighbourhood.

Motions of the Armies.

BARTOLOMEO D'ALVIANO was gone from *Suſa* by a long Way about to *Venice*, where having in their Councils without Contradiction thrown all the Blame of the Overthrow of the *Ghiaradadda* on the Count of *Pitigliano*, and talked in a magnific Strain of the preſent War, he was conſtituted by the Senate Captain General with the ſame Powers that were conferred on Count *Pitigliano* when he was promoted to that high Poſt, and, as it happened, (through the frequent Sports of Fortune with the Ignorance of Mortals!) on the ſame Day that four Years before he

Alviano Captain General of the *Venetians*.

he fell into the Hands of his Enemies. *A. D.* 1513.
He immediately ſet out for the Army, which was aſſembled at *San Bonifacio* in the *Veroneſe*, being accompanied by *Teodoro da Trivulzi*, as Lieutenant of the King of *France*, and with the greateſt Speed imaginable, on the ſame Day that the *French* Army moved from *Suſa*, approached the Gates of *Verona*, into which City ſome had conſpired to receive him. But the next Day there entered into that Town by the River *Adice* Five Hundred *German* Foot, and the Plot alſo being diſcovered, *Alviano* loſing all Hopes of getting Poſſeſſion of the Place, reſolved, contrary to the Authority of the *Venetian* Proveditor, to march towards the *Po*, to prevent the *Spaniards* from paſſing it, or, if Occaſion ſhould require, to join with the *French* *. He did not ſignify this Reſolution to the Senate till after he was got one Day's March from *Verona*, becauſe, tho' he alledged that the final Event of the War intirely depended on the Succeſs

* *Alviano* was willing to take his own Way to ingratiate himſelf with the *French*, contrary to the Authority of thoſe who had more Care of the Republic than of the *French* Concerns. *Mocenigo*.

A. D. 1513. ceſs of the Efforts in the Dutchy of *Milan*, and that if the *French* were unproſperous in that Country, whatever Attempts or Acquiſitions were made in any other Parts would be fruitleſs and not durable, and that the Victory of the *French* in that State was therefore by all poſſible Means to be promoted, he was yet apprehenſive, and not without Reaſon, that the Senate would contradict this Meaſure, not ſo much out of a Deſire that he ſhould firſt attend to the Recovery of *Verona* and *Breſcia*, as becauſe ſome of their other Commanders had condemned the Paſſage of the River *Mincio*, before they had received a particular Account of the Progreſs of the *French*; and repreſented how difficult it muſt be, if any Diſaſter ſhould happen, to retire with Safety through the *Veroneſe* and the *Mantouan*, Countries either ſubject or devoted to *Cæſar*.

He takes *Valeggio*, *Peſchiera*, &c. ALVIANO by his Menaces ſo intimidated the Garriſons of *Valeggio* and of the Town of *Peſchiera*, that they ſurrendered; whence the Governor of the Caſtle

of

of *Peſchiera* deſpairing of Defence gave up that Fortreſs on the Payment of a very ſmall Sum of Money to himſelf, and for ſome *German* Foot that were in Garriſon. *A. D.* 1513. About the ſame Time ſome of the principal Inhabitants of the Mountain, with a Multitude of Peaſants, entered *Breſcia* in favour of the *Venetians*; and yet *Alviano*, tho' earneſtly entreated by the *Breſcian* Ambaſſadors, who found him at *Gambera*, and preſſed by the *Venetian* Proveditor, would not conſent to turn his March to *Breſcia*, tho' it were only to tarry there for a Day, in order to recover the Caſtle, which was garriſoned in the Name of the Viceroy; ſo great was his Ardor to proſecute without Intermiſſion his firſt Reſolution! With the utmoſt Expedition he came before the Gates of *Cremona*, and finding that *Galeazzo Pallavicino*, at the Invitation of ſome *Cremoneſe*, was at the ſame time entering the Place in favour of the King of *France*, he reſolved to have no Sharers in the Glory of recovering that City, but fell upon his Troops and plundered them, and then entering the Town routed and made

Booty

A. D. 1513. Booty of Three Hundred Horſe and Five Hundred Foot of the Duke of *Milan*, who lay in Garriſon under the Command of *Ceſare Fieramuſca*. He had no Occaſion to loſe Time in the Recovery of the Caſtle, for that had always held out for the King of *France*, and had a little before been ſupplied with Proviſions by *Renzo da Ceri*, who in his Return to *Crema*, of which he was Governor, had met at *Serezana* and routed Two Hundred Horſe of *Aleſſandro Sforza*. *Alviano* after this poſted himſelf at *Cava* on the *Po*, where he had a Bridge laid in readineſs to paſs, and did not prohibit his Soldiers from ſometimes marauding on the Pope's Territories. From thence he proceeded to *Pizzichitone*, the Revolution of *Cremona* having given Occaſion to *Soncino*, *Lodi*, and other circumjacent Towns to hang out *French* Colours. But firſt, as ſoon as he had recovered *Cremona*, he had ordered *Renzo da Ceri* to *Breſcia* with Part of the Troops, to provide for the Eſtabliſhment of that City, and for the Recovery of the Caſtle, but much more to check the proſperous Succeſs of the *Germans*. For

as

as ſoon as *Alviano* was decamped from before *Verona*, *Roccandolf*, who commanded the *German* Foot, accompanied by *Federigo Gonzaga da Bozzolo*, marched out of *Verona*, with Six Hundred Horſe and Two Thouſand Foot, for *San Bonifacio*, where *Alviano* had left Three Hundred light Horſe and Six Hundred Foot under the Command of *Sigiſmondo Caballo* and *Giovanni Forte*. Theſe Troops being under no military Diſcipline, but diſperſed about the Country, as ſoon as they perceived the Coming of the Enemy fled to *Cologna*, whither they were followed by the *Germans*, who forced an Entrance into the Town, and made them all Priſoners, after which they plundered and burnt the Place. They afterwards treated *Soave* in the ſame Manner, broke the Bridge which the *Venetians* had laid over the *Adice*, and would in the ſame Career of Succeſs have ſeized on *Vicenza*, if a vaſt Number of Peaſants had not ſpeedily entered the Place. This Progreſs of the Enemy gave the more Concern, as it was reported that a Reinforcement of Foot

A. D. 1513.

Succeſs of the *German* Garriſon of *Verona*.

A. D. 1513. was marching from the Country of *Tirol* to *Verona*.

French recover Genoa.

In the mean time the *French* Fleet, conſiſting of Nine light Galleys and other Veſſels, approached *Genoa* by Sea; while *Antoniotto* and *Gieronimo*, Brothers of the Family of the *Adorni*, by the Favour of thoſe of the *Rivieras* who were of their Faction, and with other Soldiers hired by the King, marched againſt it by Land. They had a very fair Opportunity given them by the Breach which had happened a little before between the *Fieſchi* and the Doge of *Genoa*, with whom they were before united againſt the *Adorni*. For *Gieronimo*, Son of *Gianluigi dal Fieſco*, coming out of the public Palace, either on ſome accidental Quarrel ariſing, or ſome preconceived Jealouſy, was murdered by *Lodovico* and *Fregoſino*, Brothers of the Doge. On this barbarous Fact *Ottobuono* and *Sinibaldo*, Brothers of the Aſſaſſinated, retiring to their Caſtles, ſoon after entered into an Agreement with the King of *France*, and into a Conſpiracy with the *Adorni*, and approached *Genoa* on another Quarter with

with Four Thouſand Men. The Doge was not ſufficient of himſelf to reſiſt the Partiſans of the *Fieſchi* and *Adorni* in conjunction, and the Expeditiouſneſs of his Adverſaries prevented the Succours which he had requeſted of the Viceroy from coming in Seaſon, and, to render his Affairs quite deſperate, One Thouſand of his Foot poſted on the neighbouring Mountains were over-powered by the Enemy and defeated. The Doge therefore, together with *Fregoſino*, having hardly had Time to ſave his own Life, fled by Sea, leaving his other Brother *Lodovico* to guard the Caſtelletto, and the Conquerors entered *Genoa*, where the Brothers of the *Fieſchi*, tranſported with the Fury of Revenge, maſſacred *Zaccheria*, another Brother of the Doge, who was taken Priſoner in the Fight on the Mountains, and was an Acceſſary to the Murder of their Brother, and barbarouſly tying the dead Body to the Tail of a Horſe dragged it through the whole City. Thus was *Genoa* reduced to the Obedience of the King of *France*, who appointed *Antoniotto Adorno* to govern the A. D. 1513.

A. D. 1513. Place under his Authority, and the *French* Fleet, after putting a Supply of Men and Proviſions into the Lantern, and then plundering *Specie*, came to an Anchor in *Porto Vencre*.

THE *French* had now intirely recovered what they had loſt the Year before, except *Novara* and *Como*, which two Cities only in the whole Dutchy of *Milan* ſtill remained in the Poſſeſſion of *Maſſimiliano Sforza*. But the Glory of this War, to the great Shame of all the Reſt, was deſtinated, not to the *French*, not to the *German* Foot, not to the *Spaniſh* Arms, not to the *Venetians*, but wholly to the *Swiſs*, againſt whom the *French* Army, leaving in *Aleſſandria* a Garriſon ſufficient to ſecure the Country on that Side the *Po*, now advanced, and approached them at *Novara*. They were become fierce and in high Spirits from ſuch a Train of Succeſs, from the Confeſſion of the Enemies, who had ſhut themſelves up within Walls, and from the manifeſt Fears of the *Spaniards*. Beſides this, the preſent Face of Affairs ſeemed in a manner to repreſent

to

to the Memory of Men the Image and Reſemblance of Times paſt. For this was the ſame *Novara* in which *Lodovico Sforza*, the Father of the preſent Duke, had been made Priſoner; the ſame Generals, *la Tremouille* and *Gianjacopo da Trivulzi*, were in the *French* Camp; and ſome of the ſame Colours, and of the ſame Officers of thoſe Cantons which had at that Time ſold the Father, were now in the Service of the Son. Hence *Tremouille* had proudly written to the King that he would make him a Preſent of the Son for his Priſoner, from the ſame Place whence he preſented him with the Father. *A. D.* 1513. Vain Boaſt of *Tremouille*.

THE *French* battered the Walls of *Novara* with great Fury, but in a Place whence it would be very difficult and dangerous to deſcend into the City; and the *Swiſs* ſeemed ſo little afraid of them, that they never ſuffered the Gate of the City toward their Camp to be ſhut*. A ſuffi-

* The *Swiſs* Commander would never ſuffer any Bank to be caſt up, or any Trench or Ditch to be dug, repoſing all his Defence in his Arms, and Robuſtneſs and Vigour of Body; and ſent a Trumpet to acquaint the *French* that the Gates of *Novara* were left open, and to adviſe them not to waſte their Powder. *Giovio*.

A. D. 1513. cient Breach being made in the Walls the Beſiegers gave a very fierce Aſſault, but were repulſed with incredible Valour, and obliged to retire to their Quarters; where being informed that a Reinforcement of *Swiſs* had the ſame Day entered *Novara*, and that *Altoſaſſo*, a General of great Reputation, was expected with a much greater Number, they deſpaired of Succeſs, and retired the next Day two Miles from *Novara*, in Hopes of obtaining their Ends more by temporiſing, and taking Advantage of the Diſorders and Diſtreſs of the Enemy for Want of Money, than by Force of Arms. But their Hopes were all fruſtrated by the Fierceneſs and high-ſpirited Courage of *Mottino*, one of the *Swiſs* General Officers, who called an Aſſembly of the Multitude in the Square of *Novara*, and encouraged them with the warmeſt Expreſſions not to wait the Aſſiſtance of *Altoſaſſo*, whoſe Arrival was expected the next Day, but to march out and attack the Enemy in their Quarters, and not ſuffer the Glory and the Victory, which they might ſecure to themſelves, to be ſhared in common, or rather to become wholly

wholly transferred to others. For as Things conſequent attract to themſelves Things preceding, and the Increaſe covers and eclipſes the Part increaſed, ſo all the Praiſe and Honour would be aſcribed not to them but to the new Comers. *A. D.* 1513.

Speech of *Mottino* a *Swiſs* General to his Countrymen.

"THE more difficult and dangerous the Attempt, ſays *Mottino*, may poſſibly appear, ſo much the more eaſy and ſafe it will prove in the Execution; for Accidents ſtrike Men with the greater Terror in proportion as they are unforeſeen and unexpected. The *French* at preſent have not the leaſt Thought of being attacked by us; as they have removed the Camp but this Day, they muſt have taken up their Quarters in a diſorderly Manner, and without any Fortification. *French* Armies are not uſually very eager to fight, unleſs ſupported by our Foot. And if they have for ſome Years paſt ventured to fight without us, yet they have never fought againſt us. What Amazement, what Terror will ſeize them, when they ſhall ſee themſelves ſuddenly and furiouſly attacked by thoſe whoſe Valour and Ferocity uſed to be their Con-

A. D. 1513. fidence and Security! Let not their Cavalry, or their Artillery give you much Concern, for we have on another Occaſion experienced how much they rely on theſe Preparations when they have to deal with us. Did not *Gaſton de Foix*, ſo bold a General, with ſuch a Number of Lances, and ſo formidable a Train of Artillery, always retire before us on the Plains, when without Cavalry, or any other Arms than Pikes, we deſcended two Years ago to the very Gates of *Milan*? They have now in their Army *German* Foot; and this is what moves my Reſentment, and makes me eager to embrace the Opportunity which this very Juncture offers us to convince the Man that he never took a worſe Reſolution, either for himſelf or for his Kingdom, than when he was prompted by baſe and unreaſonable Avarice and Ingratitude to deſpiſe and ſet ſo low a Price on our Labours and our Blood; and alſo to demonſtrate to thoſe who imagined their Service of ſufficient Merit to deprive us of our Bread, that the Lanſkenets are no Match for the *Swiſs*; and that though they have the ſame Language, and the ſame Diſcipline,

Diſcipline, yet they have not the ſame Valour and Fierceneſs. The only Difficulty will be to ſeize the Artillery; but this will be alleviated by its not being planted within a fortified Place, by attacking it unexpectedly, by the Darkneſs of the Night, by the Fury of the Aſſault, and by the very ſmall Space of Time which it will have to annoy us, and that too interrupted by the Tumult, Diſorder, and ſudden Confuſion. The other Buſineſs of the Field will be diſpatched with the greateſt Eaſe; the Horſe will not venture to come and run themſelves upon our Pikes, much leſs will the deſpicable Rabble of *French* and *Gaſcon* Foot dare to come to cloſe Engagement with us. In this Reſolution our Prudence will be no leſs conſpicuous than our Valour. Our Nation is arrived to ſuch a Pitch of Renown, that the Glory of our Name can no longer be ſupported but by attempting ſomething beyond Expectation and the ordinary Reach of Men. And ſince we are now about *Novara*, the Place itſelf admoniſhes us that we have no other Means to wipe off that antient Reproach which we incurred

A. D. 1513.

in

A. D. 1513. in the Service of *Lodovico Sforza* at this ſame *Novara*. Let us go on then boldly with the Help of God Almighty, who is the Puniſher of Schiſmatics, Excommunicated, and Enemies to his Name; let us go to a Victory, if we behave like Men, ſecure and eaſy; a Victory, in which the greater the Danger it ſhall appear to carry with it, the greater and more glorious will be the Name of the *Swiſs*, and the more we are exceeded by the Enemy in Number, the more ſhall we enrich ourſelves by their Spoils."

AT this Speech of *Mottino* all the Troops gave a fierce Shout, and every one ſtretched forth his Arm in token of Approbation of what he had ſaid*. The General, after promiſing them a certain Victory, ordered them to go to their Repoſe, and take care of themſelves, that they might be in Readineſs at Beat of Drum to repair to their Colours. The Nation of the *Swiſs* never

* The Learned obſerve, that in military Aſſemblies lifting up the Hands, and ſtretching out the Arm are Signs of Approbation and Conſent. So we often read in *Xenophon* that the Soldiers were ordered, if they approved of what was propoſed to them, to lift up their Hands.

never took a prouder or bolder Reſolution, *A. D.* 1513.
Few againſt Many, without Cavalry or Artillery againſt an Army very ſtrong in both, and not induced by any Neceſſity, for *Novara* was freed from Danger, and they expected the next Day a conſiderable Reinforcement. They voluntarily choſe to try a Meaſure attended with leſs Security but greater Hopes of Glory, before another which would be more ſecure but leſs glorious in the Event. Bold Reſolution of the *Swiſs*.

ON the Sixth Day of *June*, then, after Midnight, the *Swiſs* in a very boiſterous Manner marched out of *Novara*, in Number about Ten Thouſand, and diſpoſed in ſuch Order that Seven Thouſand were to attack the Artillery, about which were the Quarters of the *German* Infantry, and the reſt to poſt themſelves with their Pikes upright, oppoſite to the Men at Arms. The *French* had not fortified their Camp on account of the Shortneſs of Time, and becauſe they had no Apprehenſions of ſo quick and ſudden a Viſit. At the firſt Alarm therefore given by the Centinels of the Approach of the Enemy, the Sud- Battle of *Novara*.

denneſs

A. D. 1513. denneſs of the Accident, with the Darkneſs of the Night, concurred to increaſe the Confuſion and Terror. The Men at Arms, however, ſoon aſſembled and formed themſelves into Squadrons, and the *German* Foot, followed by the reſt of the Infantry, quickly got into Rank, and preſented themſelves in Order of Battle. The Artillery was now diſcharged with a horrible Noiſe againſt the *Swiſs* that went to attack it, making a terrible Slaughter among them, which might be perceived by the Cries and Roarings of the Men more than by the Benefit of Sight, the Uſe of which was as yet prevented by the Night. The *Swiſs* however with incredible Reſolution, not regarding preſent Death, nor terrified at the Fate of thoſe who fell by their Side, marched with all poſſible Speed againſt the Artillery, where being arrived, they entered into a moſt furious Engagement with the *German* Infantry, both Parties combating with the greateſt Rage, which was ſtill inflamed with Hatred and a Deſire of Glory. You might have ſeen, as now the Sun began to appear, now one Side

giving

giving Way, now the other, oftentimes that Party to get the Advantage which at firſt ſeemed to be worſted; on the ſame Side, and at the ſame Time, ſome giving Way, others advancing forwards, ſome reſiſting with Difficulty, others violently preſſing upon and inſulting the Enemy, while every Place was full of Dead, Wounded, and Blood. The Officers ſometimes moſt valiantly diſcharged the Office of common Soldiers, ſtriking the Enemy, and defending themſelves and their Men; ſometimes they moſt prudently performed the Duties of their Station, encouraging, providing, ſuccouring, diſpoſing, and commanding. On another Part the Men at Arms ſtood quietly in their Armour without ſtriking a Stroke, for their Fears operated ſo ſtrongly upon them, that all the Authority, Encouragements, Commands, Intreaties, Exclamations and Threatenings of *Tremouille* and *Trivulzi* could not inſpire them with Boldneſs ſufficient to charge the Enemy, whom they had in their Front; and the *Swiſs* thought they did enough in keeping them confined, and preventing them from

A. D. 1513.

A. D. 1513. from ſuccouring their Infantry. At laſt in ſo fierce a Conflict, and ſo great Valour ſhown on both Sides, Victory declared for the *Swiſs*, who with irreſiſtible Force made themſelves Maſters of the Artillery, and turned it againſt their Enemies, who by that Means and by their Valour were put to Flight. With the Foot fled alſo the Men at Arms, in whom appeared no military Virtue, nor any thing that deſerved Praiſe; only *Ruberto della Marcia*, prompted by paternal Affection, entered with a Squadron among the *Swiſs*, to ſave his two Sons *Floranges* and *Deneſio*, Captains of *German* Foot, who lay on the Ground covered with Wounds, and fought with ſuch Ardor and Fierceneſs, that, to the great Amazement of the *Swiſs* themſelves, he brought them both alive out of ſo great a Danger. The Battle laſted two Hours with very conſiderable Loſs on both Sides; of the *Swiſs* were killed about Fifteen Hundred, among whom was *Mottino*, the Author of ſo glorious a Reſolution, who while he was fighting received a Thruſt with a Pike in the Throat. The Loſs of their

French defeated.

Enemies

Enemies was much greater, ſome make it Ten Thouſand, but the greater Part of the *Germans* were killed in fighting, whereas moſt of the *French* and *Gaſcon* Foot periſhed in their Flight. The Cavalry eſcaped almoſt intire, and were in no Danger of Purſuit from the *Swiſs*, who if they had been provided with Horſes might have eaſily diſperſed them, ſo great was the Terror in which they fled out of the Field. The victorious Army remained Maſters of all the Carriages with Twenty-two Pieces of heavy Cannon, and all the Horſes that belonged to the Train of Artillery. The *Swiſs* returned in a triumphant Manner the ſame Day to *Novara*, with ſuch univerſal Honour and Renown, that many who conſidered the Magnanimity of the Reſolution, the moſt manifeſt Contempt of Death, the Fierceneſs of the Fight, and the Felicity of the Succeſs, did not ſcruple to prefer this Action to almoſt all the memorable Facts that are recorded of the antient *Romans* and *Greeks*. The *French* fled into *Piedmont*, from whence, *Trivulzio* in vain exclaiming againſt it, they im-

A. D. 1513.

A. D. 1513. immediately paſſed beyond the Mountains.

AFTER the Victory *Milan* and the other Towns that had adhered to the *French* ſent to demand Pardon, which was granted on condition of paying a certain Sum of Money, the *Milaneſe* in particular Twenty Thouſand Ducats, and the reſt according to their Abilities; all which was paid away to the *Swiſs*, who ought in Juſtice to reap the Profit as well as the Glory of a Victory obtained by their Valour, and with their Blood. In order to collect as much Money as could be had, the *Swiſs* after this entered the Marquiſate of *Monferrato*, and *Piedmont*, which were accuſed of entertaining the *French* Army, and partly by Plunder, partly by Contributions, tho' abſtaining from all Acts of Violence to Life and Honour, raiſed vaſt Sums on the miſerable People. Nor were the *Spaniards* wholly excluded from the Rewards of the Victory; for after the Battle *Janus* and *Ottaviano Fregoſi*, the former of whom had been lately driven out of *Genoa*, and each

each aſpired to be Doge, having applied to the Viceroy, he preferred *Ottaviano*, for whom alſo the Pontiff highly intereſted himſelf on account of their old Friendſhip, and received from him a Promiſe to pay him Fifty Thouſand Ducats as ſoon as he had entered *Genoa*. The Viceroy then, after furniſhing *Ottaviano* with Three Thouſand Foot under the Marquis of *Peſcara*, moved with the reſt of the Army to *Chieſleggio*, ſhewing himſelf ready to proceed further if Occaſion required. But as ſoon as the Marquis with *Ottaviano* approached *Genoa*, the Brothers *Adorni*, conſcious of their Inability to reſiſt, left the Place, into which *Ottaviano* made his Entrance, and was created Doge of that City, which in the ſame Year ſaw itſelf under the Government of the *French*, *Janus Fregoſo*, the *Adorni*, and *Ottaviano*. A. D. 1513.

But *Bartolomeo Alviano*, as ſoon as he had received Advice of the Defeat of the *French* Army, being apprehenſive that the *Spaniards* would immediately march in Purſuit of him, retired in all Haſte to

A. D. 1513. *Ponte Vico*, leaving for the more Speed ſome Pieces of Cannon that were ſlow of Carriage on the Road. From *Ponte Vico*, leaving *Renzo da Ceri* in *Crema*, and abandoning *Breſcia*, becauſe it was of no Service to diminiſh the Army, in which remained but Six Hundred Men at Arms, One Thouſand light Horſe, and Five Thouſand Foot, he continued his March with the ſame Expedition, and under ſuch Dread and Diſaffection of the Country, that, had he been purſued by any ſmall Party, his Troops would have been broken and routed by themſelves, till he arrived at *Tomba*, near the *Adice*, not having given himſelf Time to reſt in any Place, but merely ſo long as he was conſtrained by Neceſſity for the Refreſhment of the Men and Horſes. At *Tomba* he halted, and laying aſide all Fear, becauſe he was not purſued, got together as great a Quantity of Proviſions as he could draw from the *Veroneſe*, and took care to have it conveyed to *Padoua* and *Trevigi*. At the ſame time he ſent *Gian Pagolo Baglione* with Sixty Men at Arms and Twelve Hundred Foot to *Lignago*, where he

he was immediately received by the Men of the Town, which had no Garriſon, and ſtormed the Caſtle, in which were One Hundred and Fifty *Spaniſh* and *German* Foot, after he had firſt battered it on the Side that looks towards the Square. In the Succeſs of the Aſſault it is difficult to ſay whether Fortune or Valour had the greater Share; for during the Attack a Fire got hold of the Stores, occaſioned by ſome Inſtruments of artificial Fires thrown by the Beſiegers, and burnt Part of the Caſtle, in which Confuſion the Enemy partly through the Breach and partly by Scaling-Ladders entered the Place, took the *Spaniſh* Governor, and killed or took Priſoners all the reſt. *A. D.* 1513.

Lignago taken by the *Venetians*.

LIGNAGO being thus taken *Alviano* laid a Bridge over the *Adice*, and being put in Hopes by ſome *Veroneſe* of an Inſurrection againſt the *Germans* went and encamped at *San Giovanni* four Miles from *Verona*, from whence the next Morning he approached the Gate of *San Martino*, and planting his Cannon play'd with great Fury on the Turret of the Gate, and the

Verona attempted in vain by *Alviano*.

A. D. 1513. contiguous Wall, expecting in the mean Time ſome Tumult to ariſe in the City. The Breach in the Wall being Forty Braces wide, and the Turret thrown down, which fell in ſuch a Manner as to make a very ſtrong Fence before the Gate, the Aſſault was given with great Fury. But in *Verona* were Three Hundred Horſe, and Three Thouſand *German* Foot under *Roccandolph*, a General Officer of great Reputation, who made a valiant Defence. The Breach in the Wall being of a good Height from the Ground on the Inſide, and the *Veroneſe* making no Movement in Favour of the *Venetians*, as it was hoped, *Alviano* ſeeing it would be difficult to take the Place, called off his Troops from the Wall, and had begun to draw off his Cannon; but changing his Mind in a Moment, on receiving, as it was ſuppoſed, ſome Meſſage from the Inhabitants, he made his Soldiers return to the Wall, and gave a freſh Aſſault more vigorous than the firſt, but met with the ſame Difficulties as before, and the ſame Remiſneſs in thoſe who had recalled him. Caſting off therefore all Hopes

Hopes of Succeſs, with the Loſs of above Two Hundred of his Men, among whom was *Tommaſo Fabbro* of *Ravenna*, Captain of Foot, he drew off his Artillery from the Walls with wonderful Speed, and returned the ſame Day to his Camp from which he had ſet out in the Morning, having acquired no Reputation from the Counſel or Event of that Day, but he was highly celebrated through all *Italy* for his Quickneſs, in doing as much in one Day as other Generals uſed to do with Difficulty in three or four. After this he laid waſte the Territory of *Verona*, to try whether the Fear of ſeeing their Country deſolate would conſtrain the *Veroneſe* to come to ſome Agreement. A. D. 1513.

BUT now the *Spaniſh* Army was advancing forwards; for the Viceroy on Advice of the Loſs of *Lignago* being apprehenſive that *Verona*, through the Diſaffection of the Citizens, would open its Gates to the *Venetians*, as he was no longer retarded by the Affairs of *Genoa*, which had taken a happy Turn, now reſolved to ſuccour without Delay the de-

A. D. 1513. clining Intereſts of *Cæſar*. For this End having paſſed the *Po* at *Stradella*, and taken Poſſeſſion without Difficulty of the Cities of *Bergamo* and *Breſcia* and the Town of *Peſchiera* by their Surrendry, he laid Siege to the Caſtle of this laſt Place, in which was a Garriſon of Two Hundred and Fifty Foot, and tho' the Place was generally expected to hold out ſome Days, he took it at once with Sword in Hand, making the *Venetian* Proveditor, with thoſe of the Garriſon that remained alive Priſoners. *Alviano* at the Approach of the *Spaniards* retired to *Albere* on the other Side of the *Adice*, and to increaſe his Army as much as poſſible, not only recalled ſome Foot that were in the *Poleſine* of *Rovigo*, but thoſe whom he had left in *Lignago*. And ſoon after the *German* Foot joining the Viceroy at *San Martino*, and marching after they had recovered *Lignago* to *Montagnana*, the *Venetians*, who had nothing left in theſe Parts but *Padoua* and *Trevigi*, attended only to the Preſervation of theſe Cities, and appointed the Army to be diſtributed between them. In *Trevigi* they placed

a Garriſon of Two Hundred Men at Arms, Three Hundred light Horſe, and Two Thouſand Foot under *Gian Pagolo Baglione*, aſſiſted by *Malateſta da Sogliano*, and the Chevalier *della Volpe*. *Alviano* with the reſt of the Army took up his Quarters in *Padoua*, where he employed himſelf in fortifying the Place, repairing the Baſtions that had been erected, and perfecting many Works that were left unfiniſhed; and that the Enemy might not be able to approach the Place without extreme Danger and Difficulty, and without a vaſt Number of Pioneers, he demoliſhed all the Houſes, and felled all the Trees within three Miles of *Padoua*. *A. D.* 1513. *Alviano* fortifies *Padoua*.

WHILE the military Operations proceeded in this Manner, the Pope uſed his utmoſt Care and Diligence for extirpating the Diviſion made in the Church by the *Piſan* Council; and that Affair depending wholly on the Will of the King of *France*, he employed abundance of Arts for ſoftening the Mind of that Prince, aſſuring him that the Report of his ſending Money to the *Swiſs* was utterly falſe, proteſting *Pope Leo* ſeeks to extirpate the Schiſm

A. D. 1513. that he desired nothing but Peace, and to be the common Father of all Christian Princes, and that he was extremely grieved that his Majesty, by his Dissention from the Church, had deprived him of the Power of demonstrating to him how much he was by Nature inclined to be his Friend, and that he was necessitated for the Honour of the Apostolic See, and of his own proper Person, to proceed separately with him till he was returned to the Obedience of the *Roman* Church, when it would be lawful for him to receive him as a most Christian King, and to embrace him as the eldest Son of the Church.

King of *France* and Prelates solicit a Reconciliation with the *Roman* Church.

The King was desirous, for his own Sake, of a Union of his Kingdom with the Church, which was earnestly demanded by all the People, and by the whole Court, and to which he was mightily stimulated by the Queen; he knew also that he could never hope to agree with the Pope in temporal Concerns, if the spiritual Differences were not first composed. Trusting therefore, or pretending

tending to truſt, to the Pope's Words, he deputed the Biſhop of *Marſeilles* his Ambaſſador to treat with his Holineſs about theſe Affairs. On his Arrival at *Rome*, the Pontiff cauſed, by a Decree of the Council, the *French* Biſhops, and other Prelates, to be reſtored to the Power of purging themſelves from Contumacy, during the whole Month of *November* next. The late Pope had proceeded very rigorouſly againſt theſe Reverend Dignitaries as Schiſmatics by way of Monitory. And the ſame Morning in which the Decree was ordered, a Paper was read in the Council, ſubſcribed by *Bernardino Carvagiale* and *Federigo da San Severino*, in which, not ſtyling themſelves Cardinals, they approved of all that was done in the *Lateran* Council, promiſing to adhere to that Council, and to obey the Pope, and by conſequence confeſſed that their Deprivation of the Cardinalſhip made by *Julius*, and confirmed by the ſaid Council before his Deceaſe, was lawful and right. The Reſtitution of theſe Prelates had been under Debate before, but delayed by the Oppoſition of the Ambaſſadors

A. D. 1513.

A. D. 1513. dors of the Emperor, and King of *Aragon*, and of the Cardinals of *Sion* and *York*, who exclaimed againſt it as an Act unworthy of the Majeſty of the Apoſtolic See, and of very bad Example, to grant Pardon to the Authors of a Crime ſo pernicious, and full of abominable Impiety, putting the Conſiſtory in Mind of the Conſtancy of *Julius*, who retained his juſt Reſentment againſt them, from no other Motive than the public Good, to his laſt Moments.

BUT the Pontiff, inclining to the more merciful Side, judged it eaſier utterly to extinguiſh the Name of the *Piſan* Council by Clemency than by Rigour, and was not willing to exaſperate the King of *France*, who earneſtly interceded for the Delinquents; beſides, he was not hindered in his good Intentions by any private Malice, for the Offence was not committed againſt him, nay, he himſelf and his Brothers had been intimate Acquaintance of *Federigo* before his Pontificate. For theſe Reaſons, following his own Judgment, he had cauſed to be read before the Fathers of the Council a Paper of the deprived Cardinals containing

containing their Humiliation, and afterwards appointed a Day for their Reſtitution, which was tranſacted in the following Order. *Bernardino* and *Federigo* entered *Rome* privately by Night without the Habit and Enſigns of Cardinals, and next Morning being appointed to preſent themſelves before the Pope ſitting in Conſiſtory, accompanied by all the Cardinals except *Sion* and *York*, who refuſed to be preſent, they firſt paſſed along, clothed like ſimple Prieſts with black Bonnets on their Heads, through all the public Places of the Palace of the Vatican in which they had lodged the Night before, a vaſt Multitude of People flocking to ſee them, and every one ſaying that ſo public a Diſgrace muſt needs be a ſtinging Rebuke to the exceſſive Pride of *Bernardino*, and to the no leſs immoderate Arrogance of *Federigo*. Being admitted into the Conſiſtory, falling on their Knees with Marks of the greateſt Humility, they aſked Pardon of the Pope and Cardinals, teſtifying their Approbation of what had been tranſacted by *Julius*, and particularly their own Deprivation, and the Election of a new Pontiff, as done canonically,

A. D. 1513.

Ceremony of reſtoring the ſchiſmatic Cardinals.

A. D. 1513. canonically, and condemning the *Piſan* Conventicle as ſchiſmatic and deteſtable. When an authentic Copy of this their Confeſſion, ſigned with their Names, had been entered upon Record, they roſe on their Feet, did Reverence, and embraced all the Cardinals, who ſtirred not from their Seats; after which they were veſted in the Habit of Cardinals, and admitted to ſit in the ſame Order in which they had ſat before their Deprivation. By this Act they recovered only the Dignity of the Cardinalſhip, but not the Churches and other Revenues which they uſed to enjoy, for theſe had been long before diſpoſed of to others as Vacancies.

In this Tranſaction the Pope ſatisfied, if not wholly yet in a great Meaſure, the King of *France*, but he did not ſatisfy him in other Actions, for he was ſollicitous to procure an Agreement between the Emperor and the *Venetians*, which from the preſent Circumſtances of Affairs ſeemed not difficult to be accompliſhed; it being believed that *Cæſar*, invited by fair Opportunities beyond the Mountains, was inclined

clined to eaſe himſelf of this Burden, that he might the more readily attend to the Recovery of *Burgundy* for his Grandſon. And there were much more Grounds to hope that Peace was the Deſire of the *Venetians*, who were terrified at the Defeat of the *French*, and knew that the King of *France*, on account of the Multiplicity of Dangers that threatened his own Kingdom, had laid aſide all Thoughts of *Italy* for the preſent Year. They perceived that the *Spaniſh* Army was approaching, and that it was to join the Troops which were in *Verona*; they found themſelves exhauſted of Money, weak in Soldiers, eſpecially in Foot, and obliged to ſtand the Brunt alone, without the leaſt Glimmerings of approaching Light to diſpel their gloomy Apprehenſions; and yet the Senate very conſtantly anſwered to all Propoſals, that they would come to no Accommodation without the Reſtitution of *Vicenza* and *Verona*. *A. D.* 1513.

Conſtancy of the *Venetian* Senate.

THE Emperor now requeſted of the Pope to ſupply him with Two Hundred Men at Arms to act againſt the *Venetians*, and

A. D. 1513. and tho' the Demand was very diſagreeable to the Pontiff, who doubted that by granting it he ſhould diſguſt the King of *France*, and did not comprehend how it could anſwer any Purpoſe of *Cæſar* or of himſelf to give Umbrage to the *Venetians* in a Matter of ſo ſmall Importance, yet the Emperor obſtinately perſiſting in his Importunity, he ſent him the Number deſired under the Command of *Troilo Savello*, *Achille Torello*, and *Mutio Colonna*, not chuſing by a Refuſal to ſhew any Sign that he did not intend to continue in the Confederacy contracted by the late Pontiff, and not thinking himſelf reſtrained by any Obligation to the *Venetians*, who, beſides ſuffering their Troops, when *Alviano* lay at *Cremona*, in no very friendly Manner, to go marauding over the *Parmeſan* and *Piacentine*, had never appointed any Ambaſſadors to pay him Obedience, according to antient Cuſtom, till the *French* had been defeated, and had repaſſed the Mountains.

Pope aſſiſts *Cæſar* againſt the *Venetians*.

THIS Step of the Pontiff alarmed the *Venetians*, not ſo much for the Importance

tance of ſuch a Succour as out of an Apprehenſion that this was but a Prelude to much further Proceedings, taking it as a moſt evident Sign that his Holineſs never intended to ſeparate himſelf from their Enemies. They made no Alteration however in their firſt Reſolutions, but, being rather diſpoſed to brave Fortune as well as they could, ſent Orders to their Proveditor of marine Affairs, who lay at *Corfu*, to aſſemble as many Ships as he could, and attack the maritime Towns of *Puglia*. But ſoon afterwards reflecting on the important Conſequence of ſo highly provoking the King of *Aragon*, a powerful Prince, and who had always appeared to adviſe *Cæſar* to an Agreement, they countermanded thoſe Orders, as the Reſult of Animoſity rather than of Prudence. The Viceroy lay encamped at *Montagnana*, undetermined as yet what he was to undertake; for the *Germans* were in high Expectations, the Enterpriſes on *Padoua* or *Trevigi*, which only remained on Hand, were difficult, and the Forces were much inferior to the Difficulties; for the whole Army conſiſted of no more than

A. D. 1513.

Prudent Reflection of the *Venetians*.

A. D. 1513. than One Thouſand Men at Arms, no great Number of light Horſe, and Ten Thouſand Foot between *Spaniards* and *Germans*. The Reſolution on this Point being at laſt referred to the Determination of the Biſhop of *Goritz*, who was to be in the Army within a few Days, his Arrival was earneſtly expected.

Number of the Viceroy's Army.

IN the mean time, while the *Spaniſh* Commiſſary in *Bergamo* was collecting the Fine of Twenty-five Thouſand Ducats, impoſed on that City when it ſurrendered to the Viceroy, *Renzo da Ceri* ſent thither a Party from *Crema*, which entered by Night with the Aſſiſtance of ſome of the Town, ſeized the Commiſſary with that Part of the Money which he had received, and then returned to *Crema*.

Succeſsful Action of *Renzo da Ceri*.

PREPARATIONS were alſo making much about the ſame Time for raiſing new Diſturbances in *Genoa*, in compliance with the Inclinations of the Duke of *Milan* and the *Swiſs*, to whom *Antoniotto* and *Gieronimo Adorni* had Recourſe; put-

putting the Duke in Mind of the Dependency of their Fathers on his Father *Lodovico*, who by the Aſſiſtance of the *Adorni* had recovered, and many Years enjoyed in Peace the Dominion of *Genoa*, of which he had been treacherouſly deprived by the Doges of the Family of the *Fregoſi*: That the *Adorni* had alſo a Share in the Misfortunes of the *Sforzas*, for at the ſame Time that *Lodovico* loſt the Dutchy of *Milan* the *Adorni* were driven out of *Genoa*; it ſeemed reaſonable therefore that they ſhould in like manner partake of their good Fortune, ſince there remained the ſame Affection, and the ſame Fidelity: That they were not to be charged with the Fault, if, being deſtitute of all Hope, and finding none to hearken to them, they had at laſt, not out of Choice but Neceſſity, had Recourſe to that King by whom they had before been expelled: On the other Side he ought not to forget the inveterate Hatred of the *Fregoſi*, and the Multiplicity of injurious and fraudulent Practices with which his Father had been abuſed by *Battiſta* and the Cardinal, both of that Family, and

A. D. 1513.

The *Adorni* ſollicit their Reſtoration.

A. D. 1513. ſucceſſive Doges of *Genoa*; he ſhould conſider alſo how it could be proper to put any Confidence in *Ottaviano Fregoſo*, who, beſides his inveterate Enmity, had refuſed to have a Superior in that City. To the *Swiſs* they had propoſed the powerful Incentives of Profit, Safety, and Honour; to pay them, if by their Aſſiſtance they ſhould be reſtored to their Country, the ſame Sum of Money that *Fregoſo* had paid to the *Spaniards*. They repreſented to them that as the Dutchy of *Milan* had been preſerved by their Valour, ſo to them alſo belonged its Protection; they ought to conſider therefore how inconſiſtent it would be with the Security of that State for *Genoa*, a neighbouring City, and of ſuch Importance, to be under the Dominion of a Doge dependent on the King of *Aragon*; that it would be greatly unworthy of their Name and of their Glory to ſuffer *Genoa*, the Fruits of the Victory of *Novara*, to fall a Prize to the Covetouſneſs of the *Spaniards*, who, while the *Swiſs* marched with ſo much Reſolution to the Mouths of the *French* Cannon, or, to ſpeak more pro-

properly, ran to meet Death, ſat idle on the *Trebbia*, keeping themſelves on the Watch, and prepared, according to the Event of the Battle, either to fly like Cowards, or fraudulently ſteal away the Fruits of a Victory obtained by the Blood of others. Theſe Repreſentations had ſuch an Effect, that the Duke put his Troops in Motion, and the *Swiſs* were ready to march with Four Thouſand Foot; but the Threats of the Viceroy againſt the Duke, and the Authority of the Pontiff, who had the Intereſts of *Ottaviano* very much at Heart, put a Stop to their Proceedings. A. D. 1513.

In the mean time the Viceroy took his March to *Battaglia*, a Place ſeven Miles diſtant from *Padoua*, where *Bernardino Carvagiale*, inconſiderately advancing with a few Horſe to view the Situation of the Country, was taken by *Mercurio*, Commander of the *Venetian* light Horſe. The Biſhop of *Goritz* being now arrived in the Army, a Council was held on the future Operations, in which *Goritz* propoſed the Siege of *Padoua*, re-

A. D. 1513. preſenting that ſo great a Dependence might juſtly be laid on the Valour of the *Germans* and *Spaniards*, when exerted againſt *Italians*, that it was to be hoped they would in the End ſurmount all Difficulties; that the Conqueſt of *Trevigi* would indeed be ſomewhat leſs laborious, but the Advantage to be reaped from it was very different, for to become Maſter of *Trevigi* alone conduced but little to a Deciſion of the War, but the Acquiſition of *Padoua* would entirely ſecure the Towns ſubject to the Emperor from all Inſults and Dangers of War, and deprive the *Venetians* of all Hopes of ever retrieving their Loſſes. The Viceroy was of a different Opinion, as were almoſt all the other General Officers, judging it rather impoſſible than difficult to force *Padoua*, becauſe of its Fortifications, which were almoſt incredible; it was alſo extremely well provided with Artillery and all Things neceſſary for its Defence, and had a very numerous Garriſon, among whom were arrived, as at other Times, a good Number of the noble Youth of *Venice*. The Town itſelf, they ſaid, was of a very large

Siege of *Padoua* debated.

large Compaſs, and upon that Account, with the Multitude of Defendants, and other Difficulties, it required two good Armies to ſurround and beſiege it; which was ſo far from being the Caſe at preſent, that they were not able ſo much as to form one conſiderable Army, the Number of Soldiers not being great, and of theſe, the *Germans* eſpecially, who uſed to be very uneaſy under ſlow Payments, not being over zealous for the Service; that beſides they did not abound with Ammunition, and laboured under a Scarcity of Pioneers, whoſe Service was very neceſſary for carrying on ſo difficult a Siege. *A. D.* 1513.

Second Siege of *Padoua*.

BUT the Reaſons alledged by the Viceroy and others were at laſt obliged to give Way to the Will and Pleaſure of the Biſhop of *Goritz*, purſuant to which the Army drew nearer to *Padoua*, and poſted itſelf at *Baſſanello*, on the Right of the Canal, within a Mile and Half of the City. But the Camp in that Place being pretty much annoyed by ſome double Cannon planted on a Baſtion of the Town, the Troops paſſed the Canal, and encamped

A. D. 1513. camped at a ſomewhat farther Diſtance from the Place, from whence they ordered ſome Foot to take Poſt at the Church of *Sant' Antonio* within half a Mile of *Padoua*, and, in order to make their Approaches with leſs Danger, ſet themſelves at Work in caſting up Trenches towards the Gate of *Sant' Antonio*. But the Works were very great, and in a Country whence all the Inhabitants were fled there was an extreme Want of Pioneers; ſo that the Trenches advanced but ſlowly, and not without Danger, the Workmen being greatly incommoded Day and Night by frequent and ſudden Sallies. To this was added a Dearth of Proviſions; for as but a ſmall Part of the Town was ſurrounded by the Beſiegers, the Stradiotti, having free Liberty to ſally from the other Parts of the City, ranged over the Country at Diſcretion, and intercepted all Convoys deſigned for the Camp, which were alſo prevented by ſome armed Boats, which the *Venetians* had manned for that Purpoſe on the River *Adice*; for the Crews were continually landing

landing in one Part or other, and infeſted all the open Country. *A. D.* 1513.

THE Viceroy beſet with theſe Difficulties, and laying the State of Affairs once more before a Council, every one freely gave his Opinion that it would be leſs diſgraceful to correct a Reſolution imprudently taken by raiſing the Siege, than by perſiſting in an Error to give Occaſion for greater Loſs, attended with greater Shame and Reproach. This Opinion being reported by the Viceroy, in the Preſence of many of the General Officers, to *Goritz*, who had refuſed to be preſent at the Council, he anſwered that, as the military Art was not his Profeſſion, he was not aſhamed to confeſs his Want of Judgment in Affairs relating to War, and tho' he had adviſed the Siege of *Padoua* he was not prompted to it by truſting to himſelf in that Reſolution, but by truſting and following the Authority of the Viceroy, who both by Letters and by private Meſſengers had ſeveral times adviſed *Cæſar* to the Undertaking, and given him mighty Hopes of Succeſs. At length, as Com-

A. D. 1513. plaints and Diſputes could not remove the Difficulties which every Moment increaſed, the Siege was raiſed, after the Army had lain eighteen Days before the Walls of *Padoua*; and the Beſiegers, who had been continually haraſſed in decamping and afterwards in their March by the Stradiotti, retired to *Vicenza*, which was then void of Inhabitants, and a Prey to whoever was Maſter of the Field.

Siege raiſed.

Actions of Parties.

In the mean time the Troops of the Duke of *Milan*, aſſiſted by One Thouſand Foot ſent by the Viceroy under *Antonio da Leva*, made themſelves Maſters of *Ponte Vico*, garriſoned by Two Hundred *Venetian* Foot, who valiantly ſuſtained the Siege, undaunted at Batteries or Mines, but after a Month were conſtrained to ſurrender for Want of Proviſions. About the ſame Time *Renzo da Ceri* marched out of *Crema*, and routed *Silvio Savello*, who by Orders from the Duke of *Milan*, with his own Regiment and Four Hundred *Spaniſh* Foot, was marching to *Bergamo*. And a few Days after, on Advice that a *Spaniſh* Commiſſary was returned to *Ber-*

gamo

gamo in order to collect Money, he detached thither a Party of Three Hundred Horſe and Five Hundred Foot, who took the Commiſſary, together with the Caſtle whither he was fled, and the Money that he had gathered, the Place having very few Defendants. In order to recover *Bergamo* there marched out of *Milan* Sixty Men at Arms, Three Hundred light Horſe, and Seven Hundred Foot, with Two Thouſand Men of the Mountain of *Brianza*, under *Silvio Savello* and *Ceſare Fieramoſca*, who in their March meeting with Five Hundred light Horſe, and Three Hundred Foot, ordered by *Renzo* for *Bergamo*, eaſily put them to Flight, on which the others who were before in Poſſeſſion of *Bergamo* abandoned it, only leaving a Garriſon in the Caſtle, called *Capella*, that ſtands on a Mountain without the Town. A. D. 1513.

THE Viceroy and the Biſhop of *Goritz* ſtayed ſome Days at *Vicenza*, and ſent Part of the *Spaniards* under *Proſpero Colonna* to pillage *Baſciano* and *Marroſtico*, not for any Fault, but that the Subſtance of

A. D. 1513. of theſe unhappy People might go as far as poſſible towards the Maintenance of the Army, which wanted their Pay; for *Cæſar* always laboured under the ſame Difficulties, the King of *Aragon* was not able to ſupport ſo great a Burden alone, and the Dutchy of *Milan*, exceſſively burdened by the *Swiſs*, was incapable of contributing towards the Aſſiſtance of others. The Army was vaſtly incommoded in its Quarters at *Vicenza* by the continual Moleſtations of the Enemy's light Horſe, who ſcoured all the Country Night and Day, and intercepted all Convoys of Proviſions, not attended with a ſtrong Guard, in which, becauſe they had but very few light Horſe, they were obliged to employ their Men at Arms. *Goritz* therefore, to avoid this Vexation, marched off with the *German* Foot to *Verona*, much diſſatisfied with the Viceroy, who following him by eaſy Journeys halted at *Albere* on the *Adice*, where he reſted ſome Days to give the *Veroneſe* an Opportunity to gather in their Corn and their Vintage, but not able to reſtrain the continual Incurſions of the light Horſe, who

Viceroy in *Vicenza.*

who carried off the Oxen belonging to the Artillery from the *Germans* under the very Gates of *Verona*. A. D. 1513.

THE Viceroy had intended to diſtribute the Army into Quarters in the *Breſcian* and *Bergamaſco*, and at the ſame time to diſtreſs *Crema*, the only Place poſſeſſed by the *Venetians* beyond the *Mincio*; and the Report of his Deſign being ſpread, the Inhabitants of the adjacent Countries thought themſelves ſecure, ſo that the *Padouan* was full of People and Goods. On this Conſideration the Viceroy, who had no other Means of maintaining his Army than by Plunder, altered his Purpoſe, and ſending for the *German* Foot marched to *Montagnana* and *Eſte*, whence he proceeded to the Village of *Bovolenta*, which, after making a vaſt Booty of Cattle, the Soldiers burnt with many ſtately Seats in that Neighbourhood. From *Bovolenta*, allured by a Deſire of Plunder, and emboldened by knowing that the *Venetian* Troops were diſtributed into Garriſons at *Padoua* and *Trevigi*, the Viceroy took a Reſolution, tho' contrary to

Ravages the *Venetian* Territory.

A. D. 1513. to the Advice of *Proſpero Colonna*, who cenſured it as raſh and dangerous, to approach *Venice*. Paſſing therefore the River *Bacchiglione*, he pillaged *Pieve di Sacco*, a populous and plentiful Borough, after which he proceeded to *Meſtri*, and from thence he arrived at *Marghera* on the Salt Water, where, to render the Memory of this Expedition the more famous, he diſcharged ten Pieces of heavy Artillery towards *Venice*, the Balls of which reached the Monaſtery of the Temple of *San Secondo*. At the ſame time the Troops plundered and laid waſte the whole Country, from whence all the Inhabitants were fled, and very unfairly made War againſt the Walls; for not being ſatisfied with the vaſt Booty of Animals and Moveables, they burnt, in a moſt barbarous Manner, *Meſtri*, *Marghera*, and *Lizzafuſina*, with all the Towns and Villages in the Country, beſides every Houſe of more than ordinary Beauty and Appearance. In theſe Devaſtations the Savageneſs of the Pope's Soldiers and of the other *Italians* diſtinguiſhed itſelf as much as that of the Barbarians, and was the more unpardonable in

in them, as they unnaturally ſpent their Fury and Malice in defacing the Magnificence, and deſtroying the Ornaments of their own Country.* A. D. 1513.

BUT in *Venice*, when from the Smoke by Day, and the Flames by Night, the Inhabitants diſcerned the Burning of their Country Seats and Palaces, and heard in their own Houſes and Habitations the thundering Noiſe of the Cannon, which was planted on Purpoſe to render their Diſgrace the more notorious, it was impoſſible to expreſs the public Indignation and Grief, every one taking to Heart, and bitterly regretting beyond Meaſure ſo diſmal a Change of Fortune, that inſtead of ſo many Victories obtained both in *Italy* and foreign Parts, by Land as well as Sea, in Times paſt, they now ſaw a little Army, in

* *Mutio Colonna* was firſt detached with ſome Squadrons of Horſe and a good Body of *Germans* to *Meſtri*, where he took the Town and Caſtle, putting all the Defendants to the Sword, after which the Viceroy and *Colonna* advanced thither with the whole Army. *Liſſafuſina*, which is the Place where Veſſels are hailed by Windlaſſes out of the *Brenta* into the *Adriatic* Sea, was plundered by *Troiſo Savello*, who alſo was the firſt that paſſed the *Brenta*, and made a large Booty of Cattle. *Giovio*.

A. D. 1513. in Compariſon of their antient Forces and Power, ſo fiercely and in ſo outrageous a Manner inſult the Name of ſo glorious a Republic. Provoked by ſuch Indignities the Senate, which was hitherto determined not to try the Fortune of a Battle, whatever Hopes of Succeſs might be offered, now changed its Reſolution, and conſented to the preſſing Importunities of *Bartolomeo d'Alviano* that they would give him Leave to aſſemble all the Soldiers, raiſe all the Peaſants of the Plains and of the Mountains, and endeavour to intercept the Retreat of the Enemy. This Attempt was repreſented by *Alviano* as very eaſy, becauſe having raſhly advanced ſo far beyond their Bounds, and got into the Middle between *Venice*, *Trevigi* and *Padoua*, it was impoſſible for them, eſpecially as they were encumbered with ſo much Plunder, to retire without very great Danger, on account of the Inconveniencies of procuring Subſiſtence, and the Obſtacles of Rivers and difficult Paſſes. The *Spaniards* were now ſenſible of the Preparations on Foot againſt them, and haſtening their March were arrived at *Cittadella*, but were prevented

prevented from taking Poſſeſſion of it by the Entrance of a good Number of Soldiers into the Place. *A. D.* 1513. They took up their Quarters therefore under *Cittadella* by the Side of the *Brenta*, in order to proceed to *Villa Conticella*, at which Place the River was fordable; but they were deterred from attempting the Paſſage by *Alviano*, who had poſted himſelf on the other Side with Troops drawn up in Order, and had planted Cannon along the Bank of the River, carefully providing not only for the Defence of that Place, but of ſeveral others, which would have been eaſy to be paſſed without Reſiſtance. The Viceroy continually making a Show as if he deſigned to paſs the River at the Part below, to which *Alviano* had bent all his Forces, paſſed it the next Night without Reſiſtance at the Paſs of *Nuovacroce* three Miles above *Cittadella*, whence he directed his March with great Speed towards *Vicenza*. But *Alviano* reſolving to oppoſe his Paſſage of the River *Bacchiglione* prevented him, and near to *Vicenza* was joined by Two Hundred and Fifty Men at Arms and Two Thouſand Foot from *Trevigi* under *Gian Pagolo*

A. D. 1513. *Pagolo Baglione* and *Andrea Gritti*. It was the Intention of the *Venetian* Generals not to engage the Enemy, who were making towards *Vicenza*, in a pitched Battle in an open Place, but by guarding the ſtrong Paſſes, and advantageous Poſts, to prevent their Paſſage to whatever Quarter they turned. For this Purpoſe they had ſent *Gian Pagolo Manfrone* with Four Thouſand Militia to *Montecchio*, and Five Hundred Horſe with a Multitude of other Peaſants to *Barberano* to ſtop the Paſſage of the Mountains, and had cauſed the Peaſants to poſſeſs themſelves of all the Paſſes that lead to *Germany*, and to fortify them with Ditches, Trenches and Stones, and with Trees thrown acroſs the Roads. *Alviano* left *Teodoro da Trivulzi* with a ſufficient Garriſon in *Vicenza*, and he himſelf with the reſt of the Army poſted himſelf at *Olmo*, a Place two Miles diſtant from *Vicenza* on the Road that leads to *Verona*, blocking up that Paſs and another near it with Trenches, Ditches, and Artillery diſpoſed in proper Places in ſuch a Manner that it was almoſt impoſſible to paſs that Way. The Road then which

which the *Spaniards* deſigned to take towards *Verona* being thus ſtopped up, it was difficult alſo for thoſe who marched along by the Mountains to extend themſelves in a marſhy Country, full of Pools of Water; and it was no leſs difficult and hazardous to take the narrow Way over the Mountains, which was guarded by a Multitude of armed Men. As they were thus ſurrounded with Enemies on all Sides, in Front, Flank and Rear, and continually harraſſed by great Numbers of light Horſe, and could come to no Reſolution but what was attended with Difficulty, and much Hazard, when Night came on, after ſkirmiſhing a while, they took up their Quarters within half a Mile of the *Venetians*. The Generals, after holding a Council of War in the Night on the beſt Method to extricate themſelves from ſuch preſſing Difficulties and Dangers, reſolved, as leaſt hazardous, to take the Road to *Germany*, in order to return to *Verona* by the Way of *Trent*, though they were under ſtrong Apprehenſions that, on account of the Length of the March, and the ſmall Garriſon they had left in the Place, the *Venetians*

A. D. 1513.

A. D. 1513. *netians* would prevent them, and enter the Town before they could arrive. At Break of Day they put themſelves in Motion towards *Baſſano*, turning their Backs to the Enemy; which above all things diſheartens and is pernicious to an Army; and though they marched in Order with ſo little Hopes of Safety that they thought the Loſs of their Baggage and their leaſt ſerviceable Horſes the ſmalleſt Misfortune that was like to befal them, *Alviano* did not very quickly perceive their Decampment, which was made in great Silence, without Sound of Trumpet, or Beat of Drum, and a very thick Fog that happened that Morning intercepted all Proſpect. But as ſoon as he had diſcovered that they were gone he haſtened to follow them with all his Army, in which, it was ſaid, were a Thouſand Men at Arms, a Thouſand Stradiotti, and Six Thouſand Foot, harraſſing them on every Quarter with the Stradiotti, and an infinite Number of Peaſants who deſcended from the Mountains, and annoyed the Enemy with Harquebuſes. Hence the Dangers in the March ſtill increaſed as well as the Difficulties, which were augmented

mented by the Multitude of Carriages, and the vaſt Body of Cattle which they drove, and becauſe they proceeded thro' narrow Roads between Ditches, which they had not the Conveniency of widening by levelling the Ground. But tho' they marched a great Pace they kept themſelves in firm Order by the Goodneſs of the Troops, and the diligent Inſpection of the Officers; and yet after they had proceeded in this diſtreſſed Condition about two Miles, they could not themſelves but think it very difficult to hold out much longer. But the Raſhneſs of the Enemies would not ſuffer them to wait with Patience the Maturity of ſo fair an Opportunity, which was almoſt brought to Perfection. *Alviano* incapable, as he always was, of reſtraining himſelf, attacked, not in a tumultuous Manner, but with his Army drawn up in Order of Battle, and with Cannon, the Rearguard of the Enemy commanded by *Proſpero Colonna*. It is reported for a Truth that *Alviano* delaying to engage was very ſharply reprimanded by *Loredano*, one of the Proveditors, for not charging the Enemies, but ſuffer-

A. D. 1513.

Battle of *Vicenza*.

A. D. 1513. ing them, when now they were already diſcomfited, to march off in Safety. Theſe Reproaches were ſo provoking to a General of ſuch extraordinary Fierceneſs, that he hurried himſelf into precipitate Meaſures, and in a Rage gave the Signal of Battle. Others aſcribe the Cauſe of the Engagement to *Proſpero Colonna*, by whoſe Advice the Viceroy choſe rather to try the uncertain Fortune of the Field, than to act otherwiſe in Dependance on the ſlender Hopes he could entertain of ſaving himſelf. They add that when the Viceroy gave the Signal for returning towards *Vicenza*, *Alviano* had poſted *Gian Pagolo Baglione* with the Troops arrived from *Trevigi*, in the Suburbs of that City, and he himſelf with the reſt of the Army had taken Poſt at *Creatia*, two Miles from *Vicenza*, where was a little Hill from whence he could conveniently do Execution upon the Enemy with his Cannon. At the Foot of this Hill was a Valley capable of an Army in Battle Array, but acceſſible only by one narrow Road near the Hills, and almoſt ſurrounded by Marſhes; this Place *Proſpero* knew to be very incommodious for the

the Enemy; and adviſed to attack them on that Side. However it were *Proſpero* began the Fight with much Valour, and ſent to haſten the Viceroy who commanded the main Battle; and the *Spaniſh* Infantry on one Side, and the *German* on the other, under the Command of the Marquis of *Peſcara*, moving at the ſame Time, they attacked the *Venetians* with ſuch vaſt Impetuoſity that they could not ſtand the Shock, but were broken and put to Flight almoſt in an Inſtant. For the Foot not ſuſtaining the Fury of the firſt Onſet threw their Pikes on the Ground, and immediately began to fly in a moſt ſhameful Manner, the Regiment of *Romagna*, of which *Babone di Naldo* of *Briſighella* was Colonel, being the firſt to give ſo diſgraceful an Example to the others; and the ſame vile Cowardice and Panic ran through the reſt of the Army, there being ſcarce any that offered to fight, or turn their Faces to the Enemy. Thus was the Valour of *Alviano* rendered uſeleſs at leaſt by the Flight of his Soldiers, and he was forced to leave without fighting the Victory to his Enemies, who remained Maſters of

A. D. 1513.

Venetians defeated.

A. D. 1513. the Artillery and all the Baggage. The *Venetian* Foot were diſperſed into different Places; of the Men at Arms Part fled to the Mountains, and others ſaved themſelves in *Padoua* and *Trevigi*, whither alſo fled for Refuge *Alviano* and *Gritti*. There were killed *Franceſco Calzone*, *Antonio Pio* an old Officer, together with *Coſtanzo* his Son, *Meleagro da Forli*, and *Luigi da Parma*; but *Paolo da Sant' Angelo*, being almoſt ſpent, eſcaped, though covered with Wounds. The Priſoners were *Gian Pagolo Baglione*, *Giulio* Son of *Gian Pagolo Manfrone*, *Malateſta da Sogliano*, and many other Officers and Men of Note, but with worſe Fortune the Proveditor *Loredano*, for a Quarrel ariſing between two Soldiers about their Property in him as a Priſoner, one of them barbarouſly cut his Throat. The Number of the Killed and Taken was in all about Four Hundred Men at Arms, and Four Thouſand Foot; for many were ſtopped in their Flight by the Marſh; and the Loſs ſuſtained among the Fugitives was the greater becauſe *Teodoro da Trivulzi*, having ſhut the Gates of *Vicenza* to prevent the Entrance of the Purſuers

Purſuers with the Croud of them that fled, admitted no Perſon; hence Multitudes ſeeking a Paſſage were drowned in the neighbouring River, among whom were *Ermes Bentivoglio*, and *Sacramoro Viſconti*. Such was the Overthrow which the *Venetians* received on the Seventh Day of *October* near to *Vicenza*, memorable for the Example it gave to Generals by which they are warned in Battles to put no Confidence in *Italian* Infantry, who are unexperienced in firm and cloſe Engagements; and alſo for the remarkable Turn, as it were in an Inſtant, of Victory to that Party who had very ſmall Hopes of their Safety; and this Defeat would have endangered *Trevigi* or *Padoua*, though into this latter City *Bartolomeo d'Alviano*, and into the other *Andrea Gritti* with the Remains of the Army had retired for Refuge, had not, beſides the Strength of the Towns, the Time of the Year, which was near the rainy Seaſon, been contrary, and the Generals incapable of diſpoſing at Pleaſure the Soldiers under Want of Pay to go upon new Enterpriſes. The *Venetians*, however, afflicted with ſo many Calamities, A. D. 1513.

A. D. 1513. and terrified by an Event ſo contrary to their Expectations, were not wanting to provide as well as they could for the Security of *Padoua* and *Trevigi*, to which, according to Cuſtom in Times of extraordinary Danger, they ſent a good Number of their noble Youth.

Treaty of Peace reſumed. AFTER the Battle the Thoughts of the Warriors were diverted from Arms to a Treaty of Peace, which was negotiated at *Rome*, where was arrived the Biſhop of *Goritz*, whoſe principal Commiſſion was to pay Obedience to the Pope in the Name of the Emperor and of the Archduke. He was attended by *Franceſco Sforza* Duke of *Bari*, who came to pay Obedience in the Name of *Maſſimiliano Sforza* his Brother. And tho' *Goritz* repreſented, as at other Times, the Perſon of the Emperor in *Italy*, yet laying aſide his uſual Oſtentation he entered *Rome* in a modeſt Manner, and would make no Uſe on the Road of the Enſigns of the Cardinalſhip which were ſent to him as far as *Poggibonzi* by the Pontiff.

A. D. 1513.

AT the Arrival of the Cardinal of *Goritz*, a Compromiſe was made by him and the *Venetian* Ambaſſadors for referring all the Differences between the Emperor and the Republic to the Arbitration of the Pontiff. But this Compromiſe was more in Name and Show than in Effect and Subſtance; for neither of the Parties, on account of the Importance of the Cauſe, would acquieſce in the Arbitration of a Perſon ſuſpected, unleſs he received a ſeparate and private Promiſe from him not to bring in his Arbitration without his Conſent*. The Compromiſe being made, the Pope by a Brief ſuſpended Hoſtilities between the Parties, which, though it was joyfully received by all, was but ill obſerved by the Viceroy, who had done nothing ſince the Victory, but plunder and ravage the Country, and by ſending Part of his Soldiers to the Poleſine of *Rovigo* had done great Damage to thoſe Parts, ſometimes alledging in Excuſe that they

* The Pope promiſed by a Writing under his own Hand to do nothing but what ſhould pleaſe both Parties. *Mocenigo.*

A. D. 1513. they were the Territory of *Cæſar*, ſometimes ſaying that he expected Advice from *Goritz*. Nor had the Compromiſe a more happy Iſſue than it had in the Beginning or Progreſs, on account of the Difficulties which occurred in the Treaty; for *Cæſar* would conſent to no Agreement without retaining Part of the Towns, and receiving a very large Sum of Money for the reſt; and, on the contrary, the *Venetians* demanded all the Towns, and offered but a ſmall Sum of Money. It was believed that the Catholic King, though he openly ſeemed to deſire, as he had formerly done, this Agreement, had now ſecretly diſſuaded it, and to render it the more difficult, as it was underſtood, had at the ſame Time put *Breſcia* in the Hands of *Cæſar*, which Town the Viceroy, proteſting that he retained it to render that Prince the more diſpoſed to Peace, could never before be induced to deliver up to him. Of the Cauſes of *Cæſar*'s Averſeneſs to Peace there were various Conjectures: It was imagined that he had done ſuch Injuries and Damages to the *Venetians*, that he could never expect for the future to live in ſincere Friendſhip

Compromiſe between *Cæſar* and the *Venetians* takes no Effect.

Friendſhip with them, and therefore declined an Accommodation; or for another Reaſon, which was becauſe he knew that his Authority and Grandeur in *Italy* depended on his keeping in Heart that Army which, for Want of Money, he could not maintain without oppreſſing and taxing the People that were his Friends, and ravaging and plundering the Countries of his Enemies. *A. D.* 1513.

THE Affair of the Accommodation was therefore left imperfect by the Pontiff, and a few Days after the *Germans*, by Means of ſome Exiles, ſurpriſed *Marano*, a maritime Town of *Friuli*, and afterwards took *Montefalcone*; and though the *Venetians*, being deſirous to recover *Marano*, which is Sixty Miles from *Venice*, beſieged it by Land and Sea, yet their Fortune proving alike in all Places, they were repulſed with Loſs in both Attacks. *Renzo da Ceri* was the only Perſon at that Time who, to his high Commendation, ſupported in ſome Meaſure the Reputation of the *Venetian* Arms. For though in *Crema*, of which he was Governor, there was a Peſtilence,

Renzo da Ceri an active Officer.

A. D. 1513 Peſtilence, and no ſmall Scarcity of Proviſions, and the Place, by the Diſtribution of the *Spaniards* and *Milaneſe* on account of the Seaſon into Quarters through the circumjacent Towns, was in a manner beſieged, that vigilant Officer ſurpriſed *Calcinaja*, a Town in the *Bergamaſco*, and took *Ceſare Fieramoſca* with Forty Men at Arms and Two Hundred light Horſe of the Regiment of *Proſpero Colonna*. And a few Days after he entered *Quinzano* by Night, and took Priſoner the Lieutenant of the Count of *Santa Severina* with fifty Men at Arms; and in *Trevi* he took Ten Men at Arms more belonging to *Proſpero*.

Attempt of the *Adorni* miſcarries

THE other Affairs of *Italy* at this Time proceeded in a peaceable Manner, except that the *Adorni* and *Fieſchi*, with Three Thouſand Men of the Country People, and perhaps with the ſecret Favour of the Duke of *Milan*, took *Specie*, and other Places in the *Eaſtern Riviera*, and afterwards approached the Walls of *Genoa*; but being baffled in their Attempt they marched off, almoſt like Men after a Defeat, with the Loſs of Part of the Troops which

which they had brought with them, and some Pieces of Artillery. *A. D.* 1513.

In *Tuscany* also there appeared some Beginnings of new Disturbances; for the *Florentines* began to molest the *Luccheſe*, in Hopes that, for Fear of the Pope, they would redeem their Peace by the Reſtitution of *Pietraſanta* and *Mutrone*, alledging that it was not fit they ſhould enjoy the Benefit of that Confederacy which they had violated by ſecretly lending Aſſiſtance to the *Piſans*. The *Luccheſe* complaining to the Pope, and to the Catholic King who had taken them under his Protection, of thoſe Grievances, and finding no Redreſs, were content at laſt, for avoiding greater Inconveniencies, to refer the Cauſe to the Arbitration of the Pontiff, who, being alſo authoriſed by the *Florentines*, gave Sentence that the *Luccheſe*, who had before reſtored the *Carfagnana* to the Duke of *Ferrara*, ſhould yield up the Towns aforeſaid to the *Florentines*, and that there ſhould be a perpetual Peace and Confederacy between them.

Differences between the *Florentines* and *Luccheſe* compromiſed.

At

A. D. 1513.

AT the End of this Year the Caſtles of *Milan* and *Cremona*, which had before, becauſe they begun to want Proviſions, capitulated to ſurrender if they were not relieved within a certain Time, were delivered into the Poſſeſſion of the Duke of *Milan*. Nothing now remained to the King of *France* in *Italy* but the Lantern of *Genoa*, which the *Genoeſe* about the Cloſe of the Year attempted to ruin and demoliſh by Mines. For this Purpoſe they approached the Wall by Means of a Kind of wooden Gallery thirty Braces long and twenty wide, capable of Three Hundred Men, and begirt all around with Wool-packs to reſiſt the Strokes of the Artillery: A Work of ſingular Artifice and Invention, but, as it frequently happens with ſuch Machines, found to be of no Service upon Tryal*.

* The Garriſon perceiving the Approach of the Machine, by Means of a great Fire which they had kindled on the Rampart, played on her with their Cannon till ſhe ſunk, with the Deſtruction of all that were in it, except ſome few ſaved by ſwimming or in Boats ſent out for that Purpoſe. *Giovio.*

The End of the Eleventh Book.

Franceſco Guicciardini's
HISTORY
OF
The WARS in ITALY.

BOOK XII.

THE CONTENTS.

King of England *with a potent Army invades the* French *Dominions, obtains a Victory, takes* Terrouane *and* Tournay, *and then makes Peace, which the Pope labours in vain to make univerſal, the King of* France *being intent on recovering the Dutchy of* Milan, *and* Cæſar *on proſecuting the War againſt the* Venetians. *Marriage and Death of* Lewis XII. *Succeeded by* Francis I. *who paſſes into* Italy, *defeats the* Swiſs *in the famous Battle of* Marignano, *and recovers* Milan. *Interview of the Pope and King of* France *at* Bologna. *Advantages of the* Spaniards

Spaniards *over the* French *and* Venetians. Pope *deprives the Duke of* Urbino *of his Dominions, and beſtows them on* Lorenzo de' Medici *his Nephew.* Verona *reſtored to the* Venetians, *and an End put to the* Venetian *War.*

1513. THIS Year was alſo memorable for very deſtructive Wars in the Ultramontane Countries, of which I ſhall give ſome Account, for the ſame Reaſons, and with the ſame Brevity, as I related thoſe of the preceding Year. The Origin of theſe Movements was the Reſolution of the King of *England* to attack this Summer the Kingdom of *France* with a very powerful Force, both by Sea and Land. In order to facilitate the Succeſs of this Enterpriſe, he had agreed with *Cæſar* to give him an Hundred and Twenty Thouſand Ducats, to enable him to enter at the ſame Time *Burgundy* with Three Thouſand Horſe, and Eight Thouſand Foot, Part *Swiſs* Part *Germans.* He promiſed alſo a Sum of Money to the *Swiſs* to engage them to act in Concert with *Cæſar*, who conſented that they ſhould keep Poſſeſſion

King of *England* prepares to invade *France.*

ſeſſion of Part of *Burgundy* as a Security till he had entirely ſatisfied them for their Arrears. The King of *England* perſuaded himſelf alſo that the Catholic King his Father-in-law, in Conſequence of the Confederacy in which he was engaged with *Cæſar* and himſelf, to which he had always aſſured them of his conſtant Adherence, would at the ſame Time attack the Enemy from his own Borders. The News therefore of the Truce which that King had made with the King of *France*, though it did not cool the Ardor for the War, was received with ſo much Indignation, not only by the King, but by all the People of *England*, that, had not the royal Authority interpoſed, the *Spaniſh* Ambaſſador would have been torn in Pieces by the Populace. The Conveniency of the Dominions of the Archduke was a farther Encouragement to the War, not ſo much becauſe that Prince did not prohibit his Subjects from liſting themſelves in the Service of the Enemies of *France*, as becauſe he promiſed to grant Leave for Proviſions to be conveyed from his Territories to the *Engliſh* Army. *A. D.* 1513.

A. D. 1513.

AGAINST theſe mighty Preparations, and moſt threatening Dangers, the King of *France* did not omit to make all poſſible Proviſions. By Sea he prepared a powerful Fleet to oppoſe that which was fitting out in *England*; and by Land he aſſembled an Army from all Parts, and was eſpecially careful to liſt as many *German* Foot as he could procure. He had alſo before ſollicited the *Swiſs* that, though they were not willing to aſſiſt him in his Wars in *Italy*, they would at leaſt conſent to grant him a Body of their Troops for the Defence of *France*. But the Cantons being wholly intent on eſtabliſhing the Dutchy of *Milan*, anſwered that they would not comply with his Requeſt, unleſs he returned to the Communion of the Church, evacuated the Caſtle of *Milan* (which was not yet ſurrendered) renounced his Pretenſions to that State, and promiſed never more to moleſt *Milan* nor *Genoa*. To divert the King of *England* with a Jealouſy of his own Security, the King had alſo invited into *France* the Duke of *Suffolk* as a Competitor to that Kingdom, which provoked

Meaſures taken by *Lewis* for his Defence.

the

the *Engliſh* King to cut off the Head of the Duke's Brother, who had been kept a Priſoner in *England* ſince the Time that *Philip* King of *Caſtile*, after his Voyage to *Spain*, had delivered him up to this King's Father. The King of *France* had alſo ſome Hopes of a Peace with the Catholic King, becauſe *Ferdinando*, as ſoon as he had heard of the League made between him and the *Venetians*, apprehending that the Dutchy of *Milan* could not be defended, had ſent one of his Secretaries to *France* with new Propoſals. And it was believed that, when he conſidered that the Greatneſs of the Emperor and of the Archduke might occaſion ſome Alteration in his Government of *Caſtile*, he could not be entirely pleaſed with humbling the Crown of *France*. Moreover, he excited *James* King of *Scotland*, his old Ally, to invade the Kingdom of *England*; and that Prince, who had much ſtronger Inducements from his own Intereſt, for the Depreſſion of *France* would be dangerous to his Kingdom, was very ready to engage in the Quarrel, and demanded nothing of *A. D.* 1513.

A. D. 1513. the King but Fifty Thouſand Livres to purchaſe Proviſions and Ammunition.

LEWIS, however, had proceeded but ſlowly in making theſe Preparations, becauſe he had diverted his Thoughts to the Enterpriſe againſt *Milan*, and was alſo retarded by his uſual Negligence, and his vain Confidence in the Truce which he had made with the Catholic King. The King of *England* ſpent many Months in making Preparations, for his Subjects had enjoyed a long Peace, and the Methods of War being much altered, the Bows and other Arms that were in uſe in former Times were now become uſeleſs. The King was therefore under a Neceſſity of making vaſt Proviſion of Arms, Artillery and Ammunition, to take into Pay a good Body of *German* Foot, as experienced Soldiers, and to purchaſe great Numbers of Horſes, becauſe it was the antient Cuſtom of the *Engliſh* to fight on Foot. For theſe Reaſons the *Engliſh* Forces did not paſs the Sea before the Month of *July*, after which they encamped ſeveral Days near *Boulogne*, and then went and laid Siege to *Terrouane*,

Engliſh paſs the Sea into *France* and beſiege *Terrouane.*

Terrouane, a Town ſituated on the Borders of *Picardy*, and inhabited by the People whom the *Latins* call *Morini*. Not long after the King paſſed the Sea in Perſon, and now had in his whole Army Five Thouſand Fighting Horſe, and above Forty Thouſand Foot. This Multitude encamped together, and, after they had, according to the antient Cuſtom of the *Engliſh*, ſurrounded their Quarters with Trenches, Carts and Ramparts of Wood, defended by Cannon planted all around, ſo that they ſeemed to be incloſed within a walled Town, they plied their Batteries againſt *Terrouane* in ſeveral Places, and worked on Mines; but their Valour not anſwering the Greatneſs of their Preparations, nor the Fame of their Fierceneſs, they did not venture to give the Aſſault. There were in the Town, which was well furniſhed with Artillery, Two Hundred and Fifty Lances and Two Thouſand Foot; a ſmall Garriſon, but not without Hopes of a Reinforcement: For the King of *France*, who had been careful to aſſemble the Army, which was deſigned to conſiſt of Twenty-five Hundred Lances, A. D. 1513

A. D. 1513 Ten Thouſand *German* Foot commanded by the Duke of *Guelderland*, and Ten Thouſand Foot of the National Troops, was arrived at *Amiens*, that the Vicinity of his Forces might animate the Hopes and Reſolution of the Beſieged. The Garriſon were under no Apprehenſions but of the Want of Proviſions, with which they had neglected to ſupply themſelves, except it were with Bread, of which they had enough, and annoyed the Enemy both Night and Day with their Cannon, by which the King's great Chamberlain was killed, and *Talbot*, Captain of *Calais*, had a Leg ſhot off. The King of *France* was much concerned at the Danger of *Terrouane*, but becauſe he had too late, and with a *French* Negligence, ſet about providing himſelf, and becauſe of the Difficulty of procuring the *German* Infantry, he had not as yet aſſembled all his Troops. He was reſolved, however, at all Events not to hazard a Battle, for if he ſhould be defeated the whole Kingdom of *France* would be expoſed to moſt manifeſt Danger, and therefore he truſted to the Winter, which in thoſe cold Countries was already

ready on its Approach. But as ſoon as the Army was aſſembled, he continued himſelf at *Amiens*, but ordered the Troops to march to *Aire*, in the Neighbourhood of *Terrouane*, under the Command of M. *de Longueville*, otherwiſe entitled Marquis of *Rotelin*, a Prince of the royal Blood, and Captain of the King's Lifeguard, and of M. *de la Paliſſe*, with a Charge to avoid all Occaſions of coming to an Engagement, and employ themſelves in furniſhing with Neceſſaries for their Defence the Towns in that Diſtrict, which had, thro' the ſame Negligence, been hitherto but ill provided, and to throw, if poſſible, ſome Succours of Men and Proviſions into *Terrouane*; an Attempt difficult in itſelf, but become more difficult for Want of Agreement between the Generals, each of them, one on account of his Nobility, and the other on the Score of his long Experience in War, arrogating to himſelf the chief Management of Affairs. The Garriſon, however, of *Terrouane* demanding a Reinforcement of Men, Fifteen Hundred Lances approached the Place at a Side moſt remote from the *Engliſh* Quarters, and A. D. 1513.

A. D. 1513. while the Cannon of the Town kept playing on Three Thouſand *Engliſh* poſted at certain Paſſes to intercept the Succours in ſo furious a Manner that they could not effect their Deſign, and the reſt of the Army was prevented from advancing to ſtop the *French* by Means of certain Traverſes of Ramparts and Trenches caſt up by the Beſieged, Captain *Frontaille* made his Way to the Gate, and introduced into *Terrouane* Eight Hundred Men at Arms without their Horſes as it had been deſired, and then retired without Loſs; and he might in the ſame Manner have put Proviſions into the Place, if he had brought them with him. The *French* Generals encouraged by the Succeſs of this Attempt approached another Day with a great Quantity of Proviſions, in order to introduce them by the ſame Way. But the *Engliſh* had thrown up a new Fortification on that Side, and preſenting themſelves prevented their advancing forwards, and on the other hand ſent out their Cavalry and Fifteen Thouſand *German* Foot to cut off their Retreat. The *French* returning without Suſpicion, and for Conveniency

veniency mounted on little Horſes, as ſoon as they were attacked immediately betook themſelves to Flight without Reſiſtance, in which Diſorder they loſt Three Hundred Men at Arms, who were taken Priſoners, and among them the Marquis of *Rotelin*, Generals *Bayard* and *Faiette*, with many other Perſons of Note; *Paliſſe* was alſo taken, but had the good Fortune to make his Eſcape. It was believed that if the *Engliſh* had known how to follow their Victory, they would that Day have opened themſelves a Way to become Maſters of the Kingdom of *France*. For a great Body of *Germans*, that had followed the Men at Arms, had reſted behind; and if they had been defeated the *French* Army would have received ſo great a Loſs that, as we are aſſured, the King on the firſt Advices imagining that the *Germans* alſo had been routed, looked upon his Affairs as in a deſperate State, and miſerably lamenting and bemoaning himſelf thought of nothing but flying into *Bretany*. But the *Engliſh*, as ſoon as they had put to Flight the *French* Cavalry, intent on the Acquiſition of *Terrouane*, conducted the Priſoners

A. D. 1513. *Engliſh* defeat the *French*.

A. D. 1513. Priſoners with their Colours before the Walls. The Beſieged therefore deſpairing of Relief, and the *Germans* that were in Garriſon not willing to ſuffer without Hope the utmoſt Scarcity of Proviſions, capitulated, and agreed to march out of the Place, if it was not relieved in two Days, the Soldiers to paſs unmoleſted, and to keep their Horſes; and it is not doubted that their bravely ſuſtaining a Siege Fifty Days was of ſignal Service to the King of *France*. A few Days before *Maximilian* arrived in Perſon in the *Engliſh* Army, and refreſhed his Memory with the Sight of thoſe Places where, though now unlike himſelf, he had, when yet a Youth, with ſo much Glory defeated the Army of *Lewis* XI. King of *France**; while he ſtayed he was complimented with the Title of Commander in chief†.

Terrouane taken.

BUT

* When the *French* and *Germans* contended about the Bounds of their Dominions *Maximilian*, when very young, in the Plains of *Chingatta* (near *Terrouane*) routed *Philip Des Cordes*, a very experienced General of *Lewis* XI. at the Head of Thirty Thouſand *French*. *Giovio*.

† *Engliſh* Hiſtorians ſay that he did *Henry* VIII. the Honour to liſt under him, wore the *Engliſh* red Croſs, and received a Salary of an Hundred Crowns a Day.

BUT the King of *France* was not only molested on that Side of his Dominions by the *English*, but distressed in a more dangerous Manner in a different Quarter by the *Swiss*. The Populace of that Nation being ardently desirous that the King should give up the Right which he pretended to the Dutchy of *Milan*, and burning with inexpressible Hatred against him because he shewed no Compliance, had set on Fire the Houses of many private Citizens of *Lucern*, whom they had suspected of immoderately favouring the *French* Interest, and continuing their Proceedings against those who laboured under the like Suspicion, had constrained all the principal of them to deliver up their Pensions upon Oath for the Service of the Community. After this, taking up Arms by public Decree, they entered *Burgundy* in a tumultuous Manner, to the Number of Twenty Thousand Foot, being supplied with Artillery and a Thousand Horse by *Cæsar*, who had promised them and the King of *England* to go with them in Person, but out of his usual Inconstancy, or from some Jealousy which he had conceived

A. D. 1513.

Swiss enter *Burgundy* and besiege *Dijon*.

A. D. 1513. ceived of them, now refuſed it. They continued their March till they came before *Dijon*, the Capital of *Burgundy*, to which they laid Siege. In the City was a Garriſon of a Thouſand Lances and Six Thouſand Foot commanded by *Tremouille*. The Bulk of the Soldiers and Subalterns among the *Swiſs*, being apprehenſive of the Treachery of their Generals, who had already begun to treat with the *French*, planted the Artillery, and began to batter the Town*. *Tremouille* being under no ſmall Apprehenſions that he ſhould not be able to defend the Place, had Recourſe to the laſt Remedy, and ſuddenly came to an Agreement without waiting for a Commiſſion from the King. The Articles were in Subſtance, that the King ſhould be bound to renounce his Right to the Dutchy of *Milan*, and to pay the *Swiſs*, at certain Times, Six Hundred Thouſand Ducats; for the Performance of which Conditions he was to deliver into their Hands four honourable

Make Peace.

* *Giovio* writes that it was *Ulderic*, Marquis of *Wirtemberg*, Commander of the *German* Horſe, and Director of the Siege, who ordered the Battery, that he might give the Beſieged no Reſt, becauſe he diſtruſted the Faith of the *Swiſs*.

honourable Perſons of high Rank and Quality as Hoſtages. The *Swiſs* were obliged to nothing but to return Home to their own Habitations, ſo that they were not bound to live in Friendſhip with the King of *France* for the future, but might even return whenever they pleaſed, and invade his Kingdom. The *Swiſs* on receiving the Hoſtages immediately ſet out on their March homewards, excuſing themſelves for making an Agreement without the King of *England*, by alledging that they had not received the Money he had promiſed them at the Time when it was due. A. D. 1513.

THIS Agreement was thought to have ſaved the Kingdom of *France*; for if the *Swiſs* had taken *Dijon*, they would have had it in their Power to march without Reſiſtance to the Gates of *Paris*; and it was probable that the King of *England* would have paſſed the River *Somme*, and marched into *Champagne*, in order to join them: An Attempt, the Succeſs of which could not be prevented by the *French*, who at that Time had no more than Six Thouſand

A. D. 1513. and *German* Foot, and the Duke of *Guelderland* not being yet arrived were under a Neceſſity of keeping themſelves incloſed within their Towns. The King, however, took it very much to Heart, and was highly diſſatisfied with *Tremouille* on account of the Quantity of Money he had engaged to pay, but much more becauſe he had obliged him to recede from his Rights, as a Step very prejudicial in itſelf, and unworthy of the Grandeur and Glory of the Crown of *France*. Wherefore tho' the Danger would ſtill be very great if the *Swiſs* ſhould be provoked to return and make a freſh Attack upon his Dominions, yet truſting to the near Approach of Winter, and being ſenſible that the Enemy could not get their Forces together again under a conſiderable Time, he reſolved to run the utmoſt Hazard ſooner than deprive himſelf of his Right to that Dutchy, of which he was exceſſively fond. He determined then not to ratify the Agreement, but began to propoſe new Conditions, to which the *Swiſs* ſhewed themſelves utterly averſe, and threatened to cut off the Heads of the Hoſtages if the Ratification

King of *France* refuſes to ratify the Peace.

Ratification did not arrive within a certain Time. *A. D.* 1513.

TERROUANE being taken, and the Archduke pretending a Title to it by antient Right, and the King of *England* claiming it as his own by Conqueſt in lawful War, it was thought fit by *Cæſar* and the King to ſuppreſs the Seeds of Diſſention by demoliſhing the Walls, though it had been forbidden them by the Articles of the Capitulation. *Cæſar* then immediately left the Army, making this Obſervation on the *Engliſh*, That, as far as he could perceive by Experience, they were raſh, and had but little Skill in War.

Cæſar's Obſervation on the Engliſh

FROM *Terrouane* the King of *England* went and laid Siege to *Tournay*, a very ſtrong and rich City, and moſt devoted by antient Inclination to the Crown of *France*, but ſurrounded by the Dominions of the Archduke, and therefore incapable of receiving Relief from the *French* while they were not Maſters of the Field. This Step of the *Engliſh* was very acceptable to the King of *France*, who was afraid they would

Tournay beſieged and taken by the Engliſh.

A. D. 1513. would come and attack him in ſome more important Parts of his Kingdom, which would have reduced him to great Straits. For though he had by this time aſſembled a potent Army, in which, beſides Five Hundred Lances in Garriſon at *St. Quintin*, he had Two Thouſand Lances, Eight Hundred *Albanian* light Horſe, Ten Thouſand *German* Foot, a Thouſand *Swiſs*, and Eight Thouſand Foot of his own Kingdom, the *Engliſh* Army was much more powerful, and reported, from a daily Acceſſion of new Troops, to amount to no leſs than Eighty Thouſand Fighting Men. The King therefore, who had no great Hopes of defending *Boulogne* and the reſt of the Country beyond the *Somme*, to which he was apprehenſive the *Engliſh* would turn their Arms, thought of nothing but how to defend *Abbeville* and *Amiens* and the other Towns on this Side the *Somme*, and to diſpute the Paſſage of that River, and ſo to proceed temporiſing till the Setting in of the cold Seaſon, or till the Diverſion of the King of *Scotland*, from which he had great Expectations, produced ſome Effect, his Army in the mean time patrolling along the

the *Somme* to prevent the Paſſage of the Enemy. It was believed that this Reſolution of the *Engliſh*, which was certainly unworthy of military Men, and of ſo great an Army, was occaſioned either by the Perſuaſions of *Cæſar*, who might hope that *Tournay* when taken would then or in Proceſs of Time come under the Dominion of his Nephew, to whom he pretended it belonged; or by an Apprehenſion of wanting Proviſions if they marched another Way, or that other Towns to which they might lay Siege would be relieved by the Enemy. The City of *Tournay*, being unprovided with foreign Troops, deſpairing of Relief, and battered on ſeveral Quarters, made but a ſhort Defence, and ſurrendered on Condition of Safety to the Perſons and all the Effects of the People within it, only paying, on the Account of redeeming themſelves from Plunder, an Hundred Thouſand Ducats. *A. D.* 1513.

FORTUNE did not ſhew herſelf more favourable to the *French* in other Parts; for the King of *Scotland* paſſing the River

A. D. 1513. *Tweed*, and coming to an Engagement with the *Engliſh* Army, in which was *Catharine* Queen of *England* in Perſon, was defeated with a very great Slaughter, in which fell above Twelve Thouſand *Scots*, together with the King himſelf, his natural Son, the Archbiſhop of *St. Andrews*, and many other Prelates and Nobles of that Kingdom. After theſe Conqueſts and Victories, the Seaſon now drawing on towards the End of *October*, the *Engliſh* King, leaving a numerous Garriſon in *Tournay*, and diſbanding his *German* Horſe and Foot, returned into *England*, having reaped no other Fruit from a War undertaken with ſuch vaſt Preparations, and ineſtimable Charges, than the City of *Tournay*, for *Terrouane* being diſmantled was left in the Power of the King of *France*. He was induced to paſs the Sea becauſe, it being impoſſible in thoſe very cold Countries to continue the Operations of the War, it could be of no Service to tarry abroad at ſo vaſt an Expence; and beſides he was thinking to take ſome Care about ſettling the Tuition of the new King of *Scotland*, a Child, and his Siſter's Son; the

King of *Scotland* defeated and ſlain.

the Duke of *Albany*, one of the Blood royal of the *Scots*, being already gone for that Kingdom. *A. D.* 1513.

UPON *Henry*'s Departure the King of *France* diſbanded all his Army except the *German* Infantry, being delivered from the Fear of preſent Dangers, but not from Apprehenſions of the Return of greater Difficulties with the ſucceeding Year; for the King of *England* when he left *France* had proteſted with many threatening Speeches that he would return the next Summer, and that he might not again be obliged to take the Field ſo late in the Year had already begun to make new Preparations. *Lewis* knew alſo that *Cæſar* was in the ſame Diſpoſition to act againſt him, and he was afraid leſt the Catholic King, who had recourſe to various Subterfuges for excuſing to his Adverſaries the Truce he had made, that he might not wholly alienate them from him, ſhould take up Arms in their Favour; and he had ſtrong Reaſons for his Apprehenſions from an intercepted Letter, in which that King, writing to his Ambaſſador at *Cæſar*'s

King of *France* under Apprehenſions.

A. D. 1513. Court, and diſcovering an Intention far different from his Words, in which he always pretended an ardent Deſire to enter into a War with the Infidels, and to paſs the Seas in Perſon for the Recovery of *Jeruſalem*, propoſed to act in Concert with *Cæſar* for procuring the Dutchy of *Milan* to be transferred to *Ferdinando* their common Grandſon, and younger Brother to the Archduke; demonſtrating to him that when this Deſign was effected the reſt of *Italy* would be neceſſitated to receive Laws from them, and that it would be eaſy for *Cæſar*, eſpecially when aſſiſted by his Forces, to obtain, what ſince the Death of his Conſort had always been his Wiſh, the Pontificate, which once accompliſhed he might transfer the Imperial Crown from himſelf to the Archduke; concluding that ſuch grand Deſigns could not be brought to Perfection but by Time and Opportunities. The King of *France* was fully convinced that the Animoſities of the *Swiſs*, to whom he made very large Offers, were not in any Meaſure pacified; but rather exaſperated by new Provocations, for the Hoſtages given them by *Tremouille*, being apprehenſive

apprehenſive, from the King's Non-obſervance of the Articles, that they ſhould loſe their Heads, had privately withdrawn themſelves into *Germany*; whence the King had Reaſon to be afraid that either at preſent, or at leaſt the next Year, taking Advantage of his other manifold Diſtreſſes, they would make a Deſcent either into *Burgundy* or *Dauphiné*. A. D. 1513.

THESE Difficulties were in ſome meaſure the Cauſe that induced the King to conſent to an Agreement with the Pope in ſpiritual Matters, the principal of which was the total Extirpation of the *Piſan* Council. This Point, which had been under Debate ſeveral Months, was attended with many Difficulties, and particularly with reſpect to the Things done either by the Authority of that Council, or againſt the Authority of the Pope; the Approbation of which appeared utterly unworthy of the Apoſtolic See, and the Revocation of them, it was not doubted, would occaſion very great Confuſion. A Commiſſion therefore was granted to three Cardinals to conſider of Means for providing

A. D. 1513. viding againſt this Diſorder. Some Difficulties alſo aroſe becauſe it did not appear convenient to grant the King Abſolution unleſs he demanded it, and on the other hand the King refuſed his Conſent to demand it, becauſe he would avoid branding with Schiſm his own Perſon and the Crown of *France*. At laſt the King quite tired with theſe Vexations, and tormented by the Importunities of all the People of his Kingdom, who ardently deſired to be reſtored to Communion with the *Roman* Church, and alſo greatly moved by the preſſing Inſtances of the Queen, who had always ſhewn her Abhorrence of theſe Diſputes, determined to comply with the Will of the Pope, and not without ſome Hope alſo that this Obſtacle being removed, his Holineſs, according to his Intention, which he had artfully intimated to him, would ſhew himſelf not averſe to his Intereſt, tho' there was a new Occaſion of Diſpute added to thoſe of long ſtanding, for the Pope had by a Brief commanded the King of *Scotland* not to moleſt the King of *England*.

A. D.
1513.

IN the Eighth Seſſion therefore of the *Lateran* Council, which was held in the latter End of the Year, the Agents of the King of *France*, in his Name, and producing his Commiſſion, renounced the *Piſan* Conventicle, and adhered to the *Lateran* Council, and engaged that ſix Prelates of [illegible]e who had been preſent at the Aſſembly at *Piſa* ſhould come to *Rome* and perform the ſame Ceremony in the Name of the whole *Gallican* Church, and that ſome other Prelates ſhould take a Journey thither in order to debate on the Pragmatique, with an Intention to refer themſelves on that Head to the Declaration of the Council, of whom in that ſame Seſſion they obtained plenary Abſolution of all Offences committed againſt the *Roman* Church: And theſe were the Tranſactions in *Italy*, *France*, and *England* during the Courſe of the Year 1513.

1514. IN the Beginning of the Year 1514 died *Anne* Queen of *France*, a moſt excellent and thoroughly Catholic Princeſs, having ſcarce taſted the Joys of the Union

Queen of *France* dies.

A. D. 1514. which ſhe ſo fervently deſired with the Church, and extremely lamented by the whole Kingdom, and by her own People of *Bretany*.

THE Kingdom of *France* being reduced to the Obedience of the Church, to the utter Extinction of the Name and Authority of the *Piſan* Council, ſome of thoſe Potentates, who had entertained a Jealouſy of the Greatneſs of the King of *France*, now began to look about them, and to fear that the Power of that Monarch would be too much depreſſed. Theſe Apprehenſions created Uneaſineſs in particular to the Pope, who, tho' he ſtill deſired that the King ſhould not recover the Dutchy of *Milan*, yet doubted that *Lewis*, under a Terror of ſo many Dangers, and the melancholy Remembrance of the Events of the paſt Year, would, in conformity to the conſtant Sollicitations of the Catholic King, which were not diſpleaſing to *Cæſar*, precipitate himſelf into a Convention with that Prince, in which, by a Contract of Marriage between his Daughter and one of the Grandſons of thoſe

thoſe Monarchs, *Cæſar* would grant her in Dowry the Dutchy of *Milan*. He therefore took upon him to perſuade the *Swiſs* not to ſuffer their Hatred of the King of *France* to tranſport them ſo far as to throw him under a Neceſſity of taking a Reſolution, no leſs prejudicial to themſelves than to him, as they knew alſo the Diſpoſition of *Cæſar* and the Catholic King towards them, from deſiring an Agreement, the Conſequences of which, if they ſhould get into their Poſſeſſion the State of *Milan*, would prove no leſs dangerous to their own Liberty and Authority than to the Liberties of the Church and of all *Italy*. He adviſed them to perſiſt in their Reſolution that the King of *France*, ſhould not regain the Dutchy of *Milan*, but at the ſame time to take care that, as it often happens in human Actions, they did not, in order to avoid one Extreme, run into another no leſs pernicious and dangerous, and by too great a Sollicitude to ſecure that State from returning under the King of *France*, be the Occaſion of its falling into the Hands of others, with greater Hazard and Detriment to the Public,

A. D. 1514.

Pope's Advice to the *Swiſs*.

A. D. 1514. Public, in proportion as it would be leſs eaſy to find Means for reſiſting their Power than it had been to check the growing Greatneſs of that King. The Republic of the *Swiſs*, he ſaid, had obtained all over the World the higheſt Reputation in the Arts of War by wonderful Exploits and moſt glorious Victories; it was now their Duty to render themſelves no leſs illuſtrious by the Arts of Peace, in foreſeeing future Dangers from the preſent Juncture, and providing Remedies by Prudence and Counſel, and not ſuffering the Affairs of the Public to run backward to ſo great a Length as to prove irretrievable but by Fierceneſs and Dint of Arms. For in War it has been found by Experience in all Times that human Valour is often oppreſſed by the predominant Power of Fortune. It was more adviſable therefore to moderate in ſome meaſure the Agreement of *Dijon*, eſpecially ſince the King offers larger Subſidies, and promiſes to make a three Years Truce with the State of *Milan*, provided he is not conſtrained to make a Ceſſion of his Right, which being a Point that has rather a ſpecious

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Appearance than any juſt Effect (for if an Opportunity ſhould return for the King to recover that Dutchy, his Ceſſion would be no Hindrance to him but juſt as far as he pleaſed) it would be unreaſonable for the Sake of ſuch a Difficulty to ſet the Good of the Public at Stake. *A. D.* 1514.

On the other Side his Holineſs, by many Reaſons, exhorted the King of *France* to make no Delay in ratifying the Treaty of *Dijon*, as a leſs Evil than to run the Riſk of having ſo many Enemies next Summer within his Kingdom; admoniſhing him that it was the Duty of a wiſe Prince to embrace as good and beneficial the Choice of a leſſer Evil in order to avoid a greater, and not, for the Sake of freeing himſelf from one Danger and one Diſorder, to run headlong into another of greater Importance and more diſgraceful. For what Honour could he get by giving up to his natural Enemies, who had purſued him with all the Arts of Treachery, the Dutchy of *Milan* with ſuch manifeſt Marks of Cowardice? Or what Reſt or Security could be expected from To the King of *France*.

A. D. 1514. from increaſing, with ſo great a Diminution of his own Reputation, the Power of thoſe who thought of nothing but annihilating the Kingdom of *France*? That he himſelf knew that no Promiſe, no Word of Honour, nor even Oath could ſecure him againſt their Devices, as he had learnt, to his infinite Damage, from paſt Experience. It lay hard upon him, he confeſſed, to yield up his Rights, but the Diſgrace was the leſs, becauſe a little Piece of Parchment did not make his Adverſaries more potent, and this Promiſe having been made by his Miniſters without his Conſent, it could not be ſaid that it had been his Reſolution from the Beginning, but he would be the more excuſed in executing it, becauſe he was in a manner neceſſitated by the Promiſe made in his Name, and by ſome Regard due to the Keeping of Faith. All the World knew, he ſaid, from what imminent Danger this Agreement had at that Juncture delivered the Kingdom of *France*. He commended him for endeavouring by other Motives to induce the *Swiſs* to comply with his Intentions, and wiſhed that for the

the Security of his own Kingdom he would by all Means purſue an Agreement with them, for which End he would not fail, with all the Readineſs imaginable, to uſe his good Offices for diſpoſing the *Swiſs* to conform themſelves to his Majeſty's Will; but if they continued obſtinate, he exhorted him in a fatherly Manner to [illegible] and ſubmit to the Neceſſity of the Times, not only for all other Reaſons, but alſo that he might not deprive him of an Excuſe for ſeparating himſelf from an Alliance with his Enemies. *A. D.* 1514.

THE King acknowledged the Juſtice of theſe Reaſons, tho' he complained that the Pope had tacitly mixed Threats with Perſuaſions, and confeſſed that he was under a Neceſſity of coming to ſome Reſolution that might leſſen the Number of his Enemies. But he was fixed in his Determination to expoſe himſelf to all Dangers, rather than recede from his Rights to the Dutchy of *Milan*, in which he was encouraged by his Council and the whole Court, who, tho' they were extremely concerned that the King ſhould make

King of *France* retains his Claim to the Dutchy of *Milan*.

A. D. 1514. make any more Wars in *Italy*, yet, out of Reſpect to the Dignity of the Crown of *France*, thought it far more intolerable that he ſhould be forced to renounce his Claim in ſo ignominious a Manner.

THE ſame pertinacious Humour prevailed in the Diets of the *Swiſs*; for tho' the King offered to pay them at three Times Four Hundred Thouſand Ducats, and Eight Hundred Thouſand more at different Times, and the Cardinal of *Sion* with many of the principal Perſons, conſidering the imminent Danger if the King of *France* ſhould unite with *Cæſar* and the Catholic King, were inclined to accept theſe Conditions, yet the Multitude, who were bitter Enemies to the Name of the *French*, and, grown proud with ſo many Victories, believed themſelves able to defend the *Milaneſe* againſt all other Princes in Combination, the Authority of *Sion* being alſo much diminiſhed, and the other Chiefs ſuſpected on account of the Penſions which they uſed to receive from the King of *France*, inſiſted, with the utmoſt Obſtinacy, on the Ratification of

Obſtinacy of the *Swiſs*.

the

the Treaty of *Dijon*. They were even so far tranſported with Raſhneſs that they debated on making a new Invaſion into *Burgundy*, but *Sion* and the other Chiefs oppoſed that Meaſure, not by open Authority, but by various Artifices and indirect Ways, referring a Reſolution on that Head from Diet to Diet. *A. D.* 1514.

THE King of *France* therefore, neither attacked nor ſecure of being attacked by the *Swiſs*, continued without Intermiſſion the Treaty of Affinity with the Catholic King, in which the principal Difficulty was, as before, whether the young Princeſs ſhould be under the Tuition of the Father or of the Father-in-law till ſhe were of Age fit for Conſummation of the Matrimony. For if ſhe remained with the Father, *Cæſar* could not aſſure himſelf that the Marriage would take Effect; and the King, as long as he entertained any Hopes that the Report of this Affair, which he ſtudiouſly divulged, might make any Impreſſions on the Minds of others, out of a Concern for their own Intereſts, which might turn to his Benefit, freely

A. D. 1514. freely furniſhed Matter for the Diſputes which aroſe on this Occaſion. There came to his Court *Quintana*, Secretary to the Catholic King, who had been there the Year before on the ſame Account, and from hence with his Conſent he paſſed forward to *Cæſar*, and returned again to the King of *France*. At his Return, to give Time for the more convenient Removal of the Difficulties which obſtructed a Peace, the King, and *Quintana* in the Name of his Catholic Majeſty, prolonged the Truce that had been made the Year before for another Year on the ſame Conditions, to which was added very ſecretly that the King of *France* ſhould not be at liberty to moleſt the Dutchy of *Milan*; but *Aſti* and *Genoa* were not comprehended within this Article. This Condition the King of *France* kept ſecret, but the Catholic King cauſed it to be publiſhed and ſolemnly proclaimed throughout all *Spain*, leaving the Public at a Loſs whether to believe the Denial of the one or the Affirmation of the other. In the ſame Convention the Space of three Months was reſerved for the Acceſſion

Truce prolong'd between the Kings of *France* and *Aragon*.

of

of *Cæſar* and the King of *England*, who, as *Quintana* affirmed, were both ready to accede; as to the King of *England* he was miſtaken, but the King of *Aragon*, who had reſolved always to avoid a War on the Side of *Spain*, had perſuaded *Cæſar* that there was no better Way to obtain the Marriage under Negotiation. *A. D.* 1514.

THIS Prolongation of the Truce increaſed the Pope's Suſpicion that between theſe three Kings ſome Agreement had been concluded, or was on the Point of Concluſion, on Affairs of great Importance to the Prejudice of *Italy*. His Holineſs however continuing firm in his firſt Reſolutions, that it would be very pernicious to the common Liberty for the Dutchy of *Milan* to fall into the Hands of *Cæſar* and the Catholic King, and prejudicial alſo to have it recovered by the King of *France*, found it very difficult to proceed, and to ballance Affairs in ſuch a Manner that the Means which promoted one of theſe Intentions might not prove deſtructive to the other, conſidering that one of the Dangers proceeded from the Depreſſion

Pope embarraſſed.

A. D. 1514. and Fears, and the other from the Greatneſs and Security of the King of *France*. In order therefore to deliver that King from a Neceſſity of making an Agreement with the other Princes, he continued to exhort the *Swiſs*, who were jealous of the Truce, to accommodate their Differences with him; and to render it difficult for him at all Events to paſs into *Italy*, he took more Pains than ever to bring about an Agreement between *Cæſar* and the *Venetian* Senate. That prudent Lady reflecting that a Truce would eſtabliſh the Adminiſtration of *Cæſar* in the Towns that remained to him, reſolved with a conſtant Mind either to make a Peace or to continue in Arms, without ſuffering themſelves to be removed from ſo generous a Reſolution by any Accident or Misfortune whatſoever. For beſides their manifold Loſſes and unhappy Succeſſes in the War, and their Deſpair of ſeeing a *French* Army in *Italy* this Year, they ſuffered alſo under the Wrath of Heaven, or the caſual Events that depend on Fortune, a very terrible Fire happening the Beginning of this Year in *Venice*, which broke out by Night

Great Fire in *Venice*.

on

on the Bridge of *Rialto*, and being favoured by a North Wind, in Spite of all the Labour and Diligence that could be employed, extended itſelf a very long Way through the richeſt and moſt populous Part of that City. *A. D.* 1514.

Cæſar and the *Venetians* enter into a Compromiſe.

By the Interpoſition of the Pope for an Agreement a new Compromiſe was made between *Cæſar* and the *Venetians* in the Perſon of his Holineſs, not reſtrained to Time, and with full and unlimited Power, with a Secret Promiſe however, confirmed under his own Hand-writing, to make no Declaration but by the Conſent of both Parties. As ſoon as the Compromiſe was made the Pontiff, by a Brief, commanded a Suſpenſion of Arms on both Sides, which was but little obſerved by the *Spaniards* and *Germans*. For that Part of the *Spaniards* which had their Quarters in the Poleſine and at *Eſte* plundered all the circumjacent Country, and the Viceroy ſent Troops to *Vicenza*, to take it into Poſſeſſion when the Sentence of the Arbitration ſhould be given.

A. D. 1514.

War in *Friuli.*

In the mean time *Frangipane* committed great Ravages in *Friuli*, the *Venetians* not ſtanding on their Guard, and the *Germans*, by means of a Conſpiracy formed by ſome Exiles, made themſelves Maſters of *Marano*, a Town of *Friuli* near to *Aquileia*, and ſeated on the Sea. The *Venetians*, to recover the Place, order'd thither *Baldaſſarre di Scipione* with a Body of Troops, and *Girolamo da Savorgnano* with a Multitude of Peaſants by Land; who who having laid Siege to the Place, while a Squadron of Ships ſtraitened it by Sea, the *Germans* to the Number of Five Hundred Horſe, and Two Thouſand Foot came to its Relief, and being joined by the Garriſon ſallied out upon the *Venetians*, and routed them with conſiderable Loſs of Men and of all their Cannon, and with their Shipping took from them a Galley and many other Veſſels; after which Victory they maſtered *Monfalcone* by Storm. The Troops at *Marano* were a few Days after joined by Four Hundred Horſe and Twelve Hundred *German* Foot from *Vicenza*, who in Conjunction with the other Horſe

Horſe newly arrived in *Friuli* ravaged all the Country. Wherefore *Malateſta da Sogliano*, Governor of that Province, with Six Hundred Horſe and Two Thouſand Foot, and *Girolamo da Savorniano*, with Two Thouſand Peaſants who were retired to *Udine*, finding themſelves too weak to reſiſt ſo great a Force, paſſed beyond the River *Liquenza* to give Aſſiſtance where they were able. But the *Germans* dividing themſelves one Part took *Feltro* and ſcoured all the circumjacent Country; and the *Venetians*, who had ſeized all the Paſſes, attacked a Part of that Body, conſiſting of Five Hundred Foot, at *Baſſano*, where they were unprovided, and overpowering them put them to Flight with the Loſs of Three Hundred killed on the Spot, and many Officers and Soldiers taken Priſoners. The other Part of the *Germans* were gone to lay Siege to *Oſopo* ſeated on the Top of a rugged Mountain, where, after they had battered the Caſtle, and ſtormed it ſeveral Times without Succeſs, they had no other Hopes of taking it but by keeping it blockaded, flattering themſelves that the Beſieged were in Want of Water. A. D. 1514.

A. D. 1514. But the Favour of Heaven ſupplying that Defect by frequent and plentiful Showers for ſome Days, they fell to ſtorming the Place anew, but being repulſed, and deſpairing of reducing that Fortreſs by Blockade or Aſſault, they decamped and marched off.

THE Pope was very uneaſy at theſe Proceedings, but much more concerned that he could find no Means for an Agreement ſatisfactory to both Parties. For as the frequent Changes in the Situation of Affairs, from the Progreſſes of the contending Powers, were conſtantly attended with a Change of Hopes and Expectations, it happened that when *Cæſar* had conſented to give up *Vicenza*, retaining *Verona*, the *Venetians* refuſed a Peace unleſs *Verona* were alſo reſtored; and now when the *Venetians*, humbled by ſo many Blows, would have been contented with *Vicenza* alone, *Cæſar*, not ſatisfied with *Verona*, demanded alſo *Vicenza*. The Pontiff, quite out of Patience under theſe Difficulties, preſumed that his Declaration would not be accepted: To convince the Public,

Public, however, that the Fault lay not in himſelf that an Accommodation could not be procured, he pronounced a Peace between the Parties with this Injunction; that there ſhould be an immediate Ceſſation of Hoſtilities in all Parts, reſerving to himſelf the Liberty to declare within a Year the Conditions of this Peace, in which, as well as in the Suſpenſion of Arms, the Catholic King ſhould be comprehended: That *Cæſar* ſhould depoſit *Vicenza* in his Hands, and all that he and the *Spaniards* poſſeſſed in the *Padouan* and *Trevigian*; the *Venetians* ſhould in like manner depoſit *Crema*, and as to all other Things each Party ſhould keep Poſſeſſion of what he now poſſeſſed till the Declaration: That this Sentence ſhould be ratified by all the Parties within a Month, and at the Ratification the *Venetians* ſhould pay unto *Cæſar* Twenty-five Thouſand Ducats, and Twenty-five Thouſand more within three Months next enſuing; but that this Sentence, if not ratified by all the Parties concerned, was intended to be void. The Pope choſe this unuſual Method of Arbitration, that he might not diſpleaſe either

A. D. 1514

Peace pronounced by the Pope without Effect.

A. D. 1514. Side; and becauſe there was no Perſon preſent who had a Commiſſion to ratify in the Name of his Catholic Majeſty, though his Ambaſſador paſſed his Word for his Maſter's Conſent, for this Reaſon he reſerved ſo much Time for every one to ratify, that the King's full Powers might arrive in Seaſon. But the *Venetians* having reſolved not to give the Ratification, becauſe the Pope at the ſame time had not pronounced the Conditions of Peace as they had deſired, the Sentence took no Effect.

In the mean time the Affairs of the *Venetians* had a proſperous Courſe in the Defence of *Crema*, which was diſtreſſed within by a Peſtilence and Want of Proviſions, and without by a Blockade from the Enemy: For *Proſpero Colonna* was come to *Eſenengo* with Two Hundred Men at Arms, Two Hundred and Fifty light Horſe, and Two Thouſand Foot; and *Silvio Savello*, with his own Regiment of Horſe and Two Thouſand Foot, was arrived on the other Side at *Umbriano*; both Places diſtant Two Miles from *Crema*.

Brave Actions of *Renzo da Ceri.*

This

This occaſioned frequent Sallies from the Garriſon, and Skirmiſhes with the Enemies, who were ſurpriſed by *Renzo da Ceri* with Part of the Garriſon in their Quarters at *Umbriano*, and put to Flight with the Loſs of many of their Foot; on which Occaſion *Proſpero* drew off his Troops, and quitted his Poſt. *Renzo* a few Days after, taking the Opportunity of the Lowneſs of the Waters, waded the *Adda*, and ſurpriſed fifty Men at Arms in their Quarters at *Caſtiglione di Lodigiana*. He acquired ſo much Reputation by theſe proſperous Actions, and his induſtrious Management, that he was univerſally accounted one of the beſt Officers in all *Italy*. A. D. 1514.

THE *Venetians* after this reſolving to recover *Friuli* ordered *Alviano* to march thither with Two Hundred Men at Arms, Four Hundred light Horſe, and Seven Hundred Foot. The General being on his March towards *Portonon*, his light Horſe, which advanced before the reſt, met without the Town *Rizzano* a *German* Officer with Two Hundred Men at Arms and *Alviano's* Exploits in *Friuli*.

A. D. 1514. and Three Hundred light Horſe, and at the firſt Charge were repulſed; but *Alviano* advancing with the reſt of the Troops a ſmart Battle enſued, with doubtful Event, till *Rizzano* was wounded in the Face and taken Priſoner by *Malateſta Sogliano*, in conſequence of which his Troops were broken, and retired into *Portonon*, which they ſoon abandoned as defenceleſs, and betook themſelves to Flight, and the Town was plundered, and many of the Inhabitants were put to the Sword. *Alviano* afterwards marched towards *Oſopo*, which was beſieged anew by *Frangipane* with another Part of the *Germans*, who on Notice of the Approach of the *Venetians* decamped, but having their Rear much preſſed by the Enemy's light Horſe were obliged to leave their Cannon and Baggage. By theſe Succeſſes the *Venetians* recovered almoſt the whole Country, and *Alviano*, after a fruitleſs Attempt on *Goritz*, returned with his Troops to *Padoua*; having in this Expedition, as he wrote to *Rome*, killed or taken Two Hundred Men at Arms, Two Hundred light Horſe, and Two Thouſand Foot. But the *Germans*

after

after his Departure drew together again, retook *Cremonio* and *Monfalcone*, and obliged the *Venetians* to raiſe the Siege of *Marano*, where a few Days before *Frangipane* was taken in an Ambuſh, and carried to *Venice*. For the Beſiegers perceiving the Approach of the Succours, decamped almoſt in as much Confuſion as if they had been routed, and ſoon after their Stradiotti were put to Flight, and *Giovanni Vettorio* their Proveditor with One Hundred Horſe taken Priſoners. Theſe Changes and Viciſſitudes of Fortune frequently happened in *Friuli* by the Vicinity of the *Germans*, who in their Wars in this Country employed none but Militia. Theſe Troops, after ſcowering and plundering whatever came in their Way, whenever they perceived the Coming of the *Venetian* Troops accompanied by a Multitude of Peaſants, immediately retired to their own Habitations, and returned again to the Field as Occaſion ſerved. The *Venetians* had ordered ſome Reinforcements for *Friuli*, on which the Viceroy appointed *Alarcone*, one of the Officers of thoſe *Spaniards* who had their Quarters

A. D. 1514.

A. D. 1514. Quarters between *Eſti*, *Montagnana* and *Cologna*, to march for that Country with Two Hundred Men at Arms, One Hundred light Horſe, and Five Hundred Foot; but that Commander receiving Information on the Road that a Truce had been made for thoſe Territories, to give Liberty for gathering in the Vintage, marched back to his Quarters.

THE Wars in *Italy* proceeding thus but ſlowly, the Negotiations of Peace and Concord were not intermitted; for the King of *France* ſtill retaining ſome Hopes that the *Swiſs* would accept of a Sum of Money in Recompenſe for the Renunciation of his Rights, ſollicited them for that Purpoſe with great Earneſtneſs. But the Commonalty were ſo averſe from granting his Requeſt, that having, when the Hoſtages fled, conſtrained by Menaces the Governor of *Geneva* to deliver into their Hands as Priſoner the Preſident of *Grenoble*, whom the King had ſent to that City to treat with them, they examined him ſeverely on the Rack to learn whether any Perſon of their Nation

tion were ſtill *French* Penſioners, or held ſecret Correſpondence with the King of *France*, neither Humanity nor any Juſtification being ſufficient to reſtrain their barbarous Cruelty. *A. D.* 1514.

LEWIS was not without Suſpicion alſo that the Pontiff, who on account of his different Views was obliged to ſteer with very great Circumſpection between ſo many Rocks, had ſecretly procured that the Swiſs ſhould not agree with him without his Intervention; not to incite them to make War upon him, from which he was continually perſuading them, but either that they might remain firm to the Treaty of *Dijon*, or out of an Apprehenſion that their Agreement with the King would be followed by their Separation from himſelf. The King therefore threatened to precipitate himſelf into a Convention with the other Potentates, that he might not ſtand alone to be inſulted by all the World. Beſides, he was quite weary of the exceſſive Charges and of the Inſolence of the Soldiery. For he had brought into *France* Twenty Thouſand *German* Foot,

A. D. 1514. Foot, a Number which he had not been able to compleat but when the King of *England* lay before *Tournay*; and that he might have their Aſſiſtance in Seaſon, if any new Occaſion ſhould ariſe, had retained them in his Kingdom, where they did infinite Damages to the Country. The King in this Exigence complained that the Pope intended to ſhut him out of *Italy*, and the other Princes wanted to expel him out of *France*.

In ſo difficult and perplexed a State of Affairs the King of *France* had a Way opened for his Security, with Hopes of recovering his former Power and Reputation, by the inexpreſſible Indignation which the King of *England* had conceived againſt his Father-in-law for renewing the Truce, contrary to his often repeated Promiſe that he would never more enter into any Convention with the King of *France* without his Conſent. *Henry* complained in public of this injurious Treatment, and, declaring that this was the third Time he had been deceived by his Father-in-law, began to cool

cool more and more in his Inclinations to proſecute the War againſt *France*. This Diſpoſition of the King of *England* coming to the Knowledge of the Pontiff, his Holineſs, induced either by a Jealouſy that the King of *France*, if the other continued to moleſt him, would make Peace, and contract Affinity, as he conſtantly threatened, with the other two Kings, or elſe becauſe he imagined that a Peace would certainly ſucceed between them, and was therefore willing to curry Favour with the King of *France*, and by his Interpoſition make a Merit of what he could not prevent, began to exhort the Cardinal of *York* to perſuade his King to be content with the Glory that he had acquired, and, keeping in Mind what Correſpondence of Faith he had found in *Cæſar*, the Catholic King, and the *Swiſs*, to deſiſt from employing his Arms againſt the Kingdom of *France*. We are aſſured that when it was repreſented to the Pope that as ſoon as the King of *France* had ſecured himſelf from a War with *England* he would turn his Arms againſt the Dutchy of *Milan*, he anſwered that he was ſenſible

A. D. 1514.

Pope ſolicits a Peace between *France* and *England*.

A. D. 1514. ble of that Danger, but it was alſo his Duty to conſider on the other Hand the Danger that might ariſe from the Diſunion of thoſe Kings; and that in ſo weighty a Matter it was too difficult to ballance Things ſo perfectly as to reſolve on Meaſures that ſhould be entirely free from theſe Dangers; but that at all Events the Dutchy of *Milan* would not be deſtitute of the Defence of the *Swiſs*, and that it was neceſſary in ſuch uncertain and difficult Reſolutions to entruſt ſome Part to the Diſpoſal of Chance or Fortune.

A Treaty ſet on Foot.

But whatever was the Cauſe, whether the Authority of the Pope, or the Inclination of the Parties themſelves, a Treaty of Peace was ſoon ſet on Foot between the Kings of *France* and *England*, the Negotiation of which, begun by the Pope with *York*, was ſhortly after transferred to *England*, whither the King of *France* on the ſame Buſineſs diſpatched the General of *Normandy*, but under a Colour of treating about the Releaſe of the Marquiſs of *Rothelin*. At his Arrival was publiſhed a Suſpenſion of Arms only by Land

Land between the two Kings during the Time that the General ſtay'd in the Iſland. A. D. 1514.

The Inclination of the King of *England* to Peace was increaſed by new Affronts; for *Cæſar*, who had promiſed not to ratify the Truce made by the Catholic King without his Concurrence, ſent to that King the Inſtrument of Ratification, who in a Letter to the King of *France*, ratified in *Cæſar*'s Name*, keeping the Inſtrument as of Service to him in his Arts of Diſſimulation.

As ſoon as the Treaty was begun between the two Kings, the Pontiff, deſirous to ingratiate himſelf with both, ſent Poſt to the King of *France* the Biſhop of *Tricarico* to make an Offer of all his Labour and Authority, and that Prelate with the King's Conſent paſſed into *England* for the ſame Purpoſe. At the Beginning of the Negotiation many Difficulties aroſe, for the King of *England* demanded *Boulogne* in *Picardy* with a great Sum of Money; but the Difference at laſt reſted ſolely on the Affair of *Tournay*, for the King of *England* inſiſted on keeping it, and the *French*

* As if empowered by him.

A. D. 1514. made ſome Difficulty of complying with his Demand. *Henry* therefore poſted away to the King of *France* the Biſhop of *Tricarico*, who, without being informed in what particular Point the Difference conſiſted, had only a general Commiſſion to exhort his moſt Chriſtian Majeſty in his Name, that, for the Sake of ſo great a Benefit as Peace, he would not inſiſt ſo nicely on Difficulties that might be ſtarted. On this, the King not willing to incur the Reproaches of his People, becauſe *Tournay* was a noble Town, and noted for its Fidelity to the Crown of *France*, propoſed the Affair in Council, at which were preſent all the principal Men of the Court, who unanimouſly adviſed him to embrace Peace even on Condition of loſing that City, tho' the Catholic King at this Juncture exerted his utmoſt Efforts to prevent it, propoſing to the King of *France* many advantageous Conditions, and particularly to favour him in his Conqueſt of the State of *Milan*. As ſoon therefore as the Anſwer of the King was brought to *England*; which was in the Beginning of *Auguſt*, that he was ſatisfied

ſatisfied as to the Affair of *Tournay*, a Peace was concluded between the two Kings for the Term of their Lives and one Year afterwards, on Condition that *Tournay* ſhould remain to the King of *England*, to whom the King of *France* was to pay Six Hundred Thouſand Crowns in yearly Payments of an Hundred Thouſand Livres: That for the Defence of their Dominions they ſhould aſſiſt one another with Ten Thouſand Foot in a Land War, but only with Six Thouſand in a War by Sea: That the King of *France* ſhould be obliged to furniſh the King of *England* on every preſſing Occaſion with Twelve Hundred Lances, and this King to ſupply the other with Ten Thouſand Foot, the Expences in this Caſe to be borne by the Party that had need of the Auxiliaries. Both the Kings nominated the King of *Scotland*, the Archduke, and the Empire, but neither *Caſar* nor the Catholic King were nominated. The *Swiſs* were nominated, but with a Reſtriction that whoſoever defended the State of *Milan*, or the Cities of *Genoa* or *Aſti* againſt the King of *France* ſhould be excluded from the Nomination.

A. D. 1514. Peace concluded. Conditions.

A. D. 1514.

THIS Peace, which was embraced with wonderful Readineſs, was ſtrengthen'd by a Contract of Affinity, for the King of *England* gave his Siſter in Marriage to the King of *France*, on Condition that he ſhould acknowledge that he had received with her in Dowry Four Hundred Thouſand Crowns. The Nuptials were ſolemnized in *England*, at which the King, out of the Greatneſs of his Reſentment againſt his Catholic Majeſty, would not ſuffer his Ambaſſador to be preſent.

King of *France* marries the King of *England*'s Siſter.

THE Peace was hardly concluded when there arrived at the Court of *France* the Inſtrument of the Ratification made by *Cæſar* of the Truce, together with his Commiſſion and that of the Catholic King for concluding of the Marriage treated of between *Ferdinando* of *Auſtria*, and the ſecond Daughter of the King, yet but four Years of Age; but a Stop was put to all further Negotiation on this Head by the Concluſion of the Peace: And the King, the better to ſatisfy the King of *England*, ordered the Duke of *Suffolk*, who

Auſtrian Match fruſtrated.

was

was Captain General of the *German* Foot in his Pay, to leave the Kingdom of *France*; yet that Nobleman was diſmiſſed by the King with ſuch Careſſes and Marks of Honour, that he departed well ſatisfied. *A. D.* 1514.

Treaties and Alliances of the Pope.

AT this Time the Pope alſo contracted new Alliances; for, as he was full of Artifice and Diſſimulation, he had a Mind on the one Hand that the King of *France* ſhould not recover the State of *Milan*, and on the other to amuſe him and the other Princes as much as he could by various and artful Ways. With this View, by the Mediation of Cardinal *San Severino*, who had the Management of the *French* Affairs in the Court of *Rome*, he had propoſed to the King that, ſince the Times would not permit that there ſhould be a greater or more open Alliance between them, they ſhould at leaſt make a Beginning, and lay a Foundation, on which they might hope to eſtabliſh, at a more convenient Seaſon, a very cloſe Union and Correſpondence, for which End he had ſent him the Draught of a Convention. But the King, though he ſeemed to be

A. D. 1514. pleaſed with the Project, yet, either taken up with other Buſineſs, or expecting Anſwers from another Place, by which he might take his Meaſures according to the Progreſs of Affairs, did not anſwer ſo ſpeedily as was hoped, and ſpending fifteen Days in coming to a Reſolution, the Pope made a new Convention with *Cæſar* and the Catholic King, for one Year, containing, however, nothing more than the Defence of their reſpective States. The Catholic King had before ſuſpected, and not without Reaſon, that the Pontiff aimed at the Kingdom of *Naples* for his Brother *Giuliano*; on which Deſign he had lately been conſulting with the *Venetians*. Scarce was the Agreement concluded when arrived the Anſwer of the King of *France*, in which he approved of all that the Pope had propoſed, only adding, that ſince he was bound to the Protection of the *Florentines*, of *Giuliano* his Brother, and *Lorenzo de' Medici* his Nephew, who was placed by the Pontiff at the Head of the Adminiſtration in *Florence*, he deſired that they alſo ſhould reciprocally oblige themſelves to his Defence. On Receipt of this Anſwer

Anſwer the Pope excuſed his entering into Engagements with *Cæſar* and the Catholic King, by alledging that his Majeſty had been ſo long in anſwering his reaſonable Demands, that he could not chuſe but entertain ſome Doubts of his Intention. However, he had made the Agreement but for a ſhort Time, and had entered into no Engagements prejudicial to his Majeſty, or tending to obſtruct the Completion of the Negotiations begun between them. The King accepted of the Pope's Juſtification, and they united together in a Convention, though not by an Inſtrument for the greater Secrecy, but by a Schedule ſigned by both Parties. A. D. 1514.

THE Peace between the Kings of *France* and *England* was brought about with greater Facility and Speed than the Public expected, for none ever believed that ſo much Enmity could on a ſudden be converted into Kindneſs and Tyes of Marriage. The Pope perhaps was not pleaſed with this Peace, becauſe he, as well as others, believed that a Truce was to be expected ſooner than a Peace, or if a Peace between *France* and *England* not acceptable to the Pope, &c.

A. D. 1514. Peace that the ſame would be attended with harder Conditions to the King of *France*, or at leaſt that he would be reſtrained for ſome time from attacking the State of *Milan*. But above all this Peace of the Two Kings was highly diſagreeable to *Cæſar*, and alſo to the Catholic King, who yet, as there is no Evil in human Affairs that is not accompanied with ſome Good, declared that he received two Benefits from it much to his Satisfaction: One was, that the Archduke his Nephew being excluded from all Hopes of giving his Siſter in Marriage to the King of *France*, and falling into Diſtruſt with the King of *England*, would be obliged to proceed in all his Affairs under the Influence of his Counſel and Authority; the other was, that it being likely enough that the King of *France* would have Children, the Succeſſion of *Angouleſme* was rendered doubtful, of which he had Reaſon to be glad, becauſe that Nobleman was very deſirous to reſtore the King of *Navarre* to his State, and was therefore the Object of his immortal Hatred and Jealouſy. Only the *Swiſs*, though they retained the ſame Hatred

Hatred to the King of *France* as in Times paſt, declared that they were heartily glad of this Agreement, becauſe that King finding himſelf at Liberty would, as it was ſuppoſed, turn his Arms againſt the Dutchy of *Milan*, which would give them a new Opportunity of diſplaying before all the World their Valour and their Faith. And it was not in the leaſt doubted but that the King of *France*, being delivered in a manner from all Fears of Moleſtation beyond the Mountains, would return to his accuſtomed Deſire of recovering the *Milaneſe*; but it was uncertain whether he intended to take the Field without Delay, or defer the Expedition to the next Year; for though the Facility of the Undertaking appeared manifeſt, yet there were no Signs of Preparations for it. A. D. 1514.

In this Uncertainty the Pontiff, though it would grieve him very much if the King ſhould recover that State, ſollicited him with great Earneſtneſs not to loſe the preſent Opportunity by Delay, repreſenting to him that the Country was in a bad State of Defence, for the *Spaniſh* Army Policy of the Pope.

was

A. D. 1514. was diminiſhed and without Pay, the People of the State of *Milan* were impoveriſhed, and reduced to utmoſt Deſpair, and that there was none there that could advance Money for putting the *Swiſs* in Motion. Theſe Perſuaſions were of the greater Authority, becauſe not long before the Peace with *England*, the Pope expreſſing a Deſire that the King ſhould recover *Genoa*, had given him ſome Hopes of inducing *Ottaviano Fregoſo* to come to an Agreement with him. It is not doubted but that the Pope played the Hypocrite in this Affair, for which his Motives, as it is ſuppoſed, were his Obſervation of the bad Proviſions for the Defence of the State, and his Apprehenſions that the King would undertake this Expedition even without his Sollicitations, becauſe he had his Men at Arms in Readineſs, and a good Body of *German* Foot, for which Reaſons he was willing to prepoſſeſs and ſecure himſelf of his Friendſhip in this artful Way; or elſe becauſe, proceeding from a deeper Fetch of Policy, he knew that it was true, what the Emperor and Catholic King affirmed, and the King of *France* denied, that his Moſt

Moſt Chriſtian Majeſty was prohibited to attempt any thing againſt the *Milaneſe* during the Truce, and therefore perſuading himſelf that *Lewis* would refuſe the Expedition, he thought fit to beget in him a good Opinion of his Diſpoſition, and at the ſame time provide himſelf with an Excuſe if he ſhould ſollicit his Aſſiſtance on another Occaſion. The Deſign ſucceeded according to his Wiſh, for the King having reſolved, either for the Reaſon aboveſaid, the Want of Money, or the Nearneſs of Winter, not to enter upon Action till Spring, and ſeeming to be confident that the Pope would not be wanting to favour his Enterpriſe at that Seaſon, anſwered with alledging various Excuſes for his Delay, but ſtill concealing, what perhaps was the principal, the Truce, which was not yet expired. A. D. 1514.

THE King, however, had an Inclination to make ſome Attempt upon *Genoa*, or at leaſt to ſuccour the Lantern, which had by his Orders the ſame Year received ſeveral moderate Supplies of Proviſions in ſmall Veſſels, which pretending to enter the

A. D. 1514. the Port of *Genoa* got by Stealth under the Walls of that Fortreſs. But the Place was now reduced to ſuch Extremities by Hunger, that the Garriſon could no longer wait for Supplies, but were forced to ſurrender to the *Genoeſe*, who, to the vaſt Diſpleaſure of the King, razed it to the very Foundations.

Lantern of *Genoa* demoliſhed.

THE Loſs of the Lantern obliged the King to lay aſide for the preſent all Thoughts of moleſting *Genoa*, but he wholly applied himſelf to make Preparations for attacking the Dutchy of *Milan* the enſuing Year; and he was in Hopes from the good Intentions of the Pope, of which he aſſured him, and from the Diſpoſition that he had ſhewn in the Negotiations of Peace with the King of *England* and the *Swiſs*, and becauſe he had ſtimulated him to the Undertaking, that he ſhould find in him a faſt Friend, and a Favourer of his Deſigns, eſpecially ſince he made him large Offers, and in particular promiſed to aſſiſt him in the Conqueſt of *Naples*, either for the Church or for his Brother *Giuliano*; but from,

Pope deceives the King of *France*.

ſome

ſome new Events which happened he began to entertain ſome Diſtruſt of him. *A. D.* 1514.

THE Pontiff could never be brought to accommodate Matters with the Duke of *Ferrara*, tho' at the Beginning of his Promotion he had given him very great Hopes of it when he was at *Rome*, and had promiſed the Reſtitution of *Reggio* at the Return of the Cardinal his Brother from *Hungary*. But after the Arrival of that Prelate he went on delaying the Reſtitution by various Excuſes, confirming however the ſame Promiſes, not only in Words but by a Brief, and conſenting that he ſhould receive the Revenues of *Reggio*, as of a State that was ſhortly to return under his Dominion. But his Intention was far different and inclined to ſeize on *Ferrara*, to which he was ſtimulated by *Alberto Carpi*, Ambaſſador of *Cæſar*, and a moſt bitter Enemy of the Duke, and by many others, who propoſed to him the glorious Example of *Julius*, who had immortalized himſelf by his enlarging in ſo ample a Manner the Dominion of the Church, and repreſented

Pope deſirous of *Ferrara*.

A. D. 1514. ſented that now he had an Opportunity of beſtowing an honourable State on his Brother *Giuliano*, who propoſing to himſelf more immoderate Hopes, had freely conſented that *Lorenzo* his Nephew ſhould be inveſted with the Authority of the Houſe of the *Medici* in *Florence*. The Pope then entering into theſe Meaſures eaſily obtained of the Emperor, who always wanted Money, the City of *Modena* in Pledge for Forty Thouſand Ducats, according to an Agreement made with him a little before the Death of *Julius*, deſigning to erect that City, together with *Reggio*, *Parma*, and *Piacenza*, into a Vicariate, or perpetual Government, to be beſtowed on *Giuliano*, with the Addition of *Ferrara* whenever he ſhould find an Opportunity to make himſelf Maſter of it.

King of *France* jealous of the Pope.

THIS Mortgage occaſioned no ſmall Suſpicion in the King of *France*, who look'd upon it as a Sign of a cloſe Correſpondence with *Cæſar*; and he was vexed that the Pontiff had given him Money, tho' *Leo* in Excuſe alledged that *Cæſar*

Cæſar had granted him *Modena* as a Pledge for Security of Money he had before received. The King's Suſpicion was increaſed becauſe the Sultan of the *Turks* having obtained a great Victory over the Sophi of *Perſia*, the Pope regarding it as an Event dangerous to Chriſtendom had wrote a circular Letter to all the Chriſtian Princes, exhorting them to deſiſt from mutual Hoſtilities, and ſeriouſly to think of entering into a defenſive or offenſive League againſt the Enemies of their common Faith. But the Pope in a manner fully diſcovered his Diſpoſition to the King by ſending, under the ſame Pretence, *Pietro Bembo* his Secretary, afterwards Cardinal, to *Venice*, to diſpoſe the Senate towards an Agreement with the Emperor, in which the former Difficulties recurring, they would not accept it, but notified to the King of *France* the Occaſion of the Ambaſſy. Hence the King, taking it very ill that, at a Time when the Operations of War were ſo near, he ſhould ſeek to deprive him of the Aſſiſtance of his Allies, renewed his former Negotiations with the Catholic King, with a Deſign to terrify the

A. D. 1514.

A. D. 1514. the Pope into his Meaſures, or, if no ſuch Effect followed, to conclude an Agreement in earneſt. So ardently did he deſire to recover the Dutchy of *Milan!*

DURING theſe Tranſactions there were no other Movements in *Italy*, except againſt the *Venetians*, on whom Attempts were made in the moſt ſecret and treacherous Manner. For, if we may believe the *Venetian* Writers, ſome *Spaniſh* Foot Soldiers came into *Padoua*, pretending to be Deſerters from the Enemy's Camp, and there lay in wait to aſſaſſinate *Alviano* by a Commiſſion from their Commanders, who were in Hopes that by making a ſudden Approach with the Army to the Town, while all Things were in Confuſion by the Death of ſuch a General, they might eaſily become Maſters of it. So little Reſemblance is there between the Methods of War in our Days and thoſe of the virtuous Antients, who were ſo far from ſuborning Aſſaſſins, that on the firſt Notice of any ſuch baſe and wicked Contrivance they diſcovered it to the Enemy, whom they truſted to overcome by

by Valour, and not by Treachery! But the Plot in *Padoua* coming to Light, the Villains were ſeized by the Magiſtrates, and ſuffered the Puniſhment which they deſerved. *A. D.* 1514.

THE *Spaniards*, much diminiſhed in Number, were encamped between *Montagnana*, *Cologna*, and *Eſte*; and the *Venetians*, in order to oblige them to return into the Kingdom of *Naples*, had fitted out a Navy, of which they had conſtituted *Andrea Gritti* Captain General, with a Deſign to make a Deſcent on *Puglia*; but he met with ſo many Difficulties, that the Fleet was at laſt ordered to be diſarmed and laid up. After this the *Spaniards*, at the Sollicitations of the *German* Garriſon of *Verona*, marched to the Tower near *Vicenza*, in order to join with the others, and lay waſte the Corn-Fields of the *Padouans*. But after they had waited in that Poſt ſeveral Days in vain, the *Germans* being reduced to a very ſmall Number, and in no Condition to make good the Promiſes by which they had invited them, they laid aſide Motions of the *Spaniards*.

A. D. 1514 their Deſign againſt the *Padouan*, and having got from the *Germans* Fifteen Hundred Foot to join with their own Forces, which conſiſted of Seven Hundred Men at Arms, Seven Hundred light Horſe, and Three Thouſand Five Hundred Foot, they marched to beſiege *Cittadella*, which had a Garriſon of Three Hundred light Horſe. The *Spaniards* marched all Night with great Expedition, and arrived before the Town two Hours after Sun-riſe, and immediately planting a Battery took the Place the ſame Day by Storm at the ſecond Aſſault, with all the Horſe that was in it, after which they returned to their former Quarters about Three Miles from *Vicenza*. *Alviano* made no Motion, having received Orders from the Senate not to fight, but lay with his Army conſiſting of Seven Hundred Men at Arms, One Thouſand light Horſe, and Seven Thouſand Foot ſtrongly encamped on the River *Brenta*, from whence he was continually haraſſing the Enemy with his light Horſe, tho' afterwards, for the greater Security of the Army, he retired to *Barciglione* almoſt under the Gates of *Padoua*.

Padoua. But the whole Country being exhauſted by the Incurſions and Ravages of both the Armies, the *Spaniards* in Want of Proviſions retired to their firſt Quarters from whence they had ſet out, abandoning the City of *Vicenza* and the Caſtle of *Brendolu* ſeven Miles diſtant from it, having no Pay or any other Means of Subſiſtence but what they could raiſe by Contributions from *Verona*, *Breſcia*, *Bergamo*, and the circumjacent Territories. A. D. 1514.

Motions of *Alviano*.

AFTER the Retreat of the *Spaniards* *Alviano* poſted himſelf with the Army in a very ſtrong Camp between *Battaglia* and *Padoua*, where having Advice that *Eſte* had but a ſmall and careleſs Garriſon, he ſent thither by Night Four Hundred Horſe and One Thouſand Foot, who entering the Place before they were perceived, ſurpriſed Eighty light Horſe of the Regiment of *Corvera*, that Commander ſaving himſelf in the Caſtle, and then returned to the Army. But *Alviano* having received ſome Reinforcements preſented himſelf before *Montagnana*, and offered Battle to the Viceroy, who, becauſe he

A. D. 1514. was much inferior in Force, declined an Engagement, and retired into the Poleſine of *Rovigo*; ſo that *Alviano* meeting with no more Oppoſition beyond the *Adice* ſcoured the Country every Day up to the very Gates of *Verona*, whence the Viceroy, apprehending that City to be in Danger, left Three Hundred Men at Arms and a Thouſand Foot in the Poleſine, and with the reſt of the Army entered *Verona*.

Brave Conduct of *Renzo da Ceri*.

But much greater were the Diſtreſſes of *Crema*, which was in a manner beſieged by the Troops of the Duke of *Milan* that were quartered in the adjacent Towns and Villages; for that Fortreſs laboured under a Scarcity of Proviſions, and a raging Peſtilence, and the Garriſon had been ſeveral Months without Pay, and in Want of Ammunition and many other Neceſſaries, which had been often demanded; ſo that *Renzo*, doubting whether he could any longer ſupport himſelf, had in a manner proteſted to the *Venetians* againſt their Negligence. But the ſame happy Succeſs ſtill attended him, for he had the good Fortune to attack *Silvio Savello*, who was at the Head

Head of Two Hundred Men at Arms, an Hundred light Horſe, and Fifteen Hundred Foot, and to come upon him ſo ſuddenly that he immediately broke his Troops, *Silvio* himſelf with fifty Men at Arms eſcaping by Flight to *Lodi*. After this Action the *Venetians* put into *Crema* a freſh Supply of Proviſions, and Count *Nicolo Scotto* reinforced the Garriſon with Fifteen Hundred Foot. *Renzo* from theſe Supplies increaſed in Forces and Spirits in a few Days after entered the City of *Bergamo*, at the Invitation of the Inhabitants, the *Spaniards* flying into the *Capella*; and at the ſame time *Mercurio* and *Malateſta Baglione* took Three Hundred Horſe quartered without the Walls. But a few Days after *Nicolo Scotto* marching with Five Hundred *Italian* Foot from *Bergamo* to *Crema*, was encountered by Two Hundred *Swiſs*, routed, and taken Priſoner, and being conducted to the Duke of *Milan* was ordered to be beheaded. The Loſs of *Bergamo* rouſed the Viceroy and *Proſpero Colonna*, who with the *Spaniſh* and *Milaneſe* Troops, to the Number of Five Thouſand Foot, marched to beſiege

A. D. 1513.

He takes *Bergamo*.

A. D. 1514. it. They planted a Battery againſt the Gate of *St. Catherine*, which did great Execution, and *Renzo*, finding that the Place could not be defended, capitulated on Condition that he might march out with all his Soldiers and their Baggage, but without Sound of Trumpet, and his Colours lowered, leaving the Town to the Diſcretion of the Viceroy, who compounded with the Inhabitants for Eighty Thouſand Ducats.

The City retaken.

But during theſe Tranſactions at *Crema* and *Bergamo*, an Action that was highly celebrated, and required extraordinary Diligence and Speed, was performed by *Alviano* in the Town of *Rovigo*. In this Place were quartered above Two Hundred *Spaniſh* Men at Arms, who imagined themſelves very ſecure becauſe they had the River *Adice* between them and the *Venetians*. *Alviano* unexpectedly laying a Bridge at the Town of *Anguillara*, paſſed the River with incredible Speed at the Head of ſome active Troops, and arriving before the Town, where the Gate had already been ſeized by an Hundred of his Soldiers,

Alviano ſurpriſes Rovigo.

Soldiers, whom he had ſent before him dreſſed like Peaſants, it being Market-day, he entered the Place, and made the whole Garriſon Priſoners. On this Misfortune the reſt of the *Spaniards* who were quarter'd in the Poleſine retired to *Badia* as the ſtrongeſt Place in the Country, and afterwards wholly abandoning the Poleſine and alſo *Lignago*, fled away towards *Ferrara*. A. D. 1514.

Motions of the Armies.

ROVIGO being taken, *Alviano* marched with the Army to *Oppiano* near *Lignago*, whither he had alſo conducted by the River his Fleet of armed Barks, and from thence to *Villa Cerea* near to *Verona*, a Poſt from which, if he could not ſucceed in reducing that Town, which had a Garriſon of Two Thouſand *Spaniſh* and a Thouſand *German* Foot, he deſigned to annoy and diſtreſs it during the Winter. But on Advice that Three Hundred Men at Arms, Five Hundred light Horſe, and Six Thouſand Foot of the Enemy were on their March towards *Lignago*, being apprehenſive that they would intercept his Proviſions, and force him to an Engage-

A. D. 1514. ment, he decamped, and marched along obſerving them till they came to the *Adice*, which they paſſed at *Albereto*, in great Diſtreſs for Want of Proviſions, which were intercepted by the light Horſe and the armed Barks. Here the General, having Advice that the *Spaniards* had recovered *Bergamo*, and were returning towards *Verona*, reſolved not to wait for them, but ſent his Men at Arms by Land to *Padoua*, while he himſelf with the Foot, Baggage and Artillery, to avoid the Rains and the deep and miry Roads, embarked in the Night, and went down the *Adice*, not without Fear of being attacked by the Enemy, who were prevented by the too great Height of the Waters; but *Alviano* after landing his Troops conducted them with his uſual Expedition in Safety to *Padoua*, where the Men at Arms were arrived two Days before. Some time after he diſtributed the Army into Quarters between *Padoua* and *Trevigi*, and the Viceroy and *Proſpero Colonna*, after aſſigning the Troops their Poſts in the Poleſine of *Rovigo*, ſet out for *Inſpruck* to aſſiſt at a Council

Council to be held by the Emperor on the present Occurrences. *A. D.* 1514.

THE Country of *Friuli* this Year enjoyed more Reſt than uſual through the Captivity of *Frangipane*, who was the principal Inſtrument in diſturbing the Peace of that Province. The *Venetians*, therefore, knowng how much they were intereſted in keeping him a Priſoner, had refuſed to exchange him with *Gian Pagolo Baglione*. It had been treated before of exchanging this General for *Bernardin Carvagiale*, and *Gian Pagolo* had obtained Leave of the *Spaniards* to go to *Rome* upon his Parole of Honour to return if the Exchange did not take Effect. But while the Affair was in Agitation *Carvagiale* happened to die, and *Pagolo*, affirming that he was ſet at Liberty by this Event, refuſed to return under the Power of him who had taken him Priſoner. About the ſame time, which was towards the End of the Year, the *Adorni* and *Fieſchi*, being ſecretly favoured, as it was thought, by the Duke of *Milan*, entered *Genoa* one Night by Means of a Plot, and advancing to the Square before the

Caſe of Honour.

A. D. 1514 the Palace were driven off by *Ottaviano Fregoſo*, who with his Footguards encountering them without the Bars, and valiantly fighting in Perſon above all the reſt put his Enemies to Flight, receiving a ſlight Wound in the Hand, and took *Sinibaldo dal Fieſco*, *Gieronimo Adorno*, and *Gian Camillo* of *Naples* Priſoners.

Enterpriſe on *Genoa* miſcarries.

AMONG the memorable Events of this Year may be reckoned the Spectacle of Elephants in *Rome*, an Animal, perhaps, never ſeen in *Italy* ſince the Triumphs and public Games of the *Romans*. For *Emanuel* King of *Portugal*, having deputed a very honourable Embaſſy to pay Obedience to the Pontiff, accompanied it with a Multitude of Preſents, among which were two Elephants imported from *India* in his Ships; and the Entrance of theſe Creatures into *Rome* drew together a vaſt Concourſe of People.

Leo X. preſented with Elephants.

AT this Juncture the King of *France*, who had his Mind employed on other Objects than on Pomp and Shows, was ardently intent on making all manner of Preparations

Preparations for War; and, desirous to assure himself of the Inclinations of the Pontiff, though determined, howsoever he stood affected, to prosecute his intended Enterprise, he sollicited him to declare in his Favour, renewing his former Offers, and declaring that; if he should be disappointed of his Alliance with him, he would accept the Conditions of the Emperor and the Catholic King which he had lately refused. He recommended to his Consideration the Power of his Kingdom, with the Confederacy and promised Assistance of the *Venetians*, the small Number of Forces of *Cæsar* and the King of *Aragon* at present in *Italy*, the extreme Want of Money of both these Kings, who were unable to pay their own Soldiers, and much less in a Condition to put the *Swiss* in Motion, who would not descend from their Mountains unless they were paid for it: That all the People of *Milan*, since they had so severely suffered under the Tyranny of other Lords, desired to return under the Dominion of the *French*: That the Pontiff had no Cause to provoke him to employ his victorious Arms against him as an Enemy,

A. D. 1514.

Pope sollicited by the King of *France*.

A. D. 1514. Enemy, ſince the Greatneſs of the Kings of *France* in *Italy*, and his own in particular, had on all Occaſions been of Service to the Apoſtolic See, for as they were always contented with the Poſſeſſion of their lawful Rights, they never, as manifold Experience has demonſtrated, attempted Encroachments upon the reſt of *Italy*: But far different was the Intention of *Cæſar* and the Catholic King, whoſe conſtant Ambition was, either by Force of Arms, or by contracting Affinities, or by inſidious Arts, to uſurp the Empire of all *Italy*, and to bring under their Yoke the Apoſtolic See and the *Roman* Pontiffs themſelves, as well as other Powers, which has ever been the ardent Deſire of *Cæſar*, as all the World knows. He adviſed him therefore to provide at once for the Security of the Church, the common Liberty of *Italy*, and the Grandeur of his own Family the *Medici*, and to embrace the Opportunity, which would never offer at another Juncture, or with any other Alliance.

By *Cæſar* and the King of *Aragon*.

NOR was the Pope leſs ſollicited by the preſſing Invitations of *Cæſar* and the King of

of *Aragon* to join in Alliance with them for the Defence of *Italy*, repreſenting to him that ſince their Conjunction had been powerful enough to drive the King of *France* out of the Dutchy of *Milan*, it was much more ſufficient to defend that State againſt him. They put him in Mind of the Affront he had offered laſt Year to the King, by ſending Money to the *Swiſs*, when the royal Army paſſed into *Italy*; and deſired him to conſider that if the King obtained the Victory he would revenge himſelf for all paſt Offences, and take care to ſecure himſelf from future Dangers and Suſpicions. But the Pope received deeper Impreſſions from the Authority and Offers of the *Swiſs*, who perſevering in their former Zeal offered, for Six Thouſand *Rheniſh* Florins *per* Month, to poſſeſs and defend the Paſſes of *Monſaneſe*, *Monginevra*, and *Finale* with Six Thouſand Men; and, for Forty Thouſand Florins *per* Month, to attack the Dutchy of *Burgundy* with Twenty Thouſand Men. *A. D.* 1514. Offers of the *Swiſs*.

THE Pontiff, in this fluctuating State, irre-

A. D. 1514. irreſolute in himſelf, ſpurred by his Inclinations, and bridled by his Fears, gave Anſwers to each Party in general Terms, and delayed as much as poſſible to declare his Mind. But the King of *France* inſiſting, almoſt to Importunity, on a Declaration, he finally anſwered that none better knew how much he was inclined to the King's Intereſt than his Majeſty himſelf, ſince he could not but remember how warmly he had ſollicited him to paſs into *Italy* at a Time he might have obtained the Victory without Danger or Bloodſhed: That his Sollicitations, for Want of obſerving that Secreſy which he had ſo often recommended, were come to the Knowledge of the others, to the Detriment of the King as well as of himſelf; for he had been in Danger of being moleſted by them, and the Obſtructions to the King's Enterpriſe were increaſed, the Adverſaries having re-eſtabliſhed their Affairs in ſuch a Manner that the Victory could not be obtained without very great Danger, and vaſt Effuſion of Blood. Beſides, the Power of the *Turkiſh* Sultan being lately augmented by ſuch extraordinary

Pope's Anſwer to the King of *France*.

nary Succeſs, it was neither agreeable to his Nature, nor conſiſtent with the Duty of a Pontiff, to counſel or encourage the Chriſtian Princes to go to War with one another: He could not therefore but adviſe his Majeſty to deſiſt from his Preparations in Hopes of a more favourable Opportunity, at which, whenever it ſhould happen, he ſhould find in him the ſame Diſpoſition to promote his Glory and Greatneſs, which he might have diſcerned ſome Months ago. This Anſwer, tho' it did not ſo clearly expreſs his Mind, would not only have deprived the King of all Hopes that the Pontiff would favour his Deſign, but, if it had come to his Knowledge, would in a manner have aſſured him that he would have oppoſed him both with his Counſels and Arms: Theſe were the Tranſactions of the Year 1514. A. D. 1514.

BUT Death, which frequently interrupts the vain Projects of Mortals in their moſt hopeful Courſe, by its Interpoſition delayed the impending War. The King of *France* too freely indulging himſelf in the 1515. Death of *Lewis* XII King of *France*.

A. D. 1515. the Embraces of his young and beautiful Bride but Eighteen Years old, not conſidering his Age and the Weakneſs of his Conſtitution, was ſeized with a Fever, and a Flux coming upon it, he was in a manner ſuddenly carried off the Stage of this World, making the firſt Day of the Year 1515 memorable by his Deceaſe.

His Character and Fortune.

He was a juſt Prince, and greatly beloved by his Subjects, but met with great Mutability of Fortune, for neither before he came to the Crown, nor during his Reign, was he attended with any conſtant and ſteady Courſe of Proſperity or Adverſity; if we conſider that from a petty Duke of *Orleans* he moſt happily ſucceeded to the Crown of *France* by the Death of *Charles* younger than himſelf and of his two Sons; that he acquired with the greateſt Facility the Dutchy of *Milan*, and afterwards the Kingdom of *Naples*, by which he had for ſome Years together all *Italy* in a manner at his Devotion; that he recovered *Genoa*, which had rebelled, in the moſt proſperous Manner, and that he obtained a moſt glorious Victory

Victory over the *Venetians*, at which two last happy Events he was present in Perſon. A. D. 1515. On the other Side, while yet a Youth, he was conſtrained by *Lewis* XI. to marry his barren and deformed Daughter, without procuring to himſelf by that Matrimony the Favour or Protection of his Father-in-law, after whoſe Deceaſe he was excluded from the Regency during the Minority of the new King by the Authority and Grandeur of Madam *de Bourbon*, and was in a manner neceſſitated to take Refuge in *Bretany*, where he was afterwards taken in the Battle of *St. Aubin*, and confined two Years in a Priſon. To theſe Misfortunes we may add the Siege and Famine that he endured in *Novara*, his many Defeats in the Kingdom of *Naples*, the Loſs of the State of *Milan*, of *Genoa*, and of all the Towns that he had taken from the *Venetians*, and the War made upon him by moſt potent Enemies in the Kingdom of *France*, at which Time he ſaw his Dominions expoſed to very great Dangers. He died however at a Time when his Affairs ſeemed to be taking a proſperous Courſe, ſince

A. D. 1515. he had defended his Kingdom, made Peace, contracted Affinity, and was in very cloſe Union with the King of *England*, and in great Hopes of recovering the Dutchy of *Milan*.

Francis I. King of *France*. LEWIS XII. was ſucceeded by Monſeigneur *François d' Angouleſme*, the next in Succeſſion of the Males of the Blood Royal, and of the ſame Line of the Dukes of *Orleans*, being preferred before the Daughters of the deceaſed King by the Diſpoſition of the Salic Law, of very antient Eſtabliſhment in the Kingdom of *France*, by which, while there are any Males of the ſame Line, the Females are excluded from the royal Dignity. The Public had conceived ſo high an Opinion of the Valour, Magnanimity, natural Diſpoſition, and generous Spirit of the new King, that it was univerſally acknowledged there had not for a very long Courſe of Years paſt a Prince of greater Expectations aſcended the Throne; for he was mightily recommended to the public Favour by his perſonal Appearance, being in the Flower of his Age, Twenty-two Years old,

His Character and Conduct.

old, and very handſome and well made, as well as by his extraordinary Liberality, his extremely obliging Carriage towards every Body, and his perfect Knowledge in many Affairs of State; but above all he was the Favourite of the Nobility, on whom he conferred diſtinguiſhing Marks of his Favour. He aſſumed, together with the Title of King of *France*, that of Duke of *Milan*, as belonging to him not only by the antient Rights of the Dukes of *Orleans*, but alſo as comprehended in the Inveſtiture made by the Emperor purſuant to the League of *Cambray*, having the ſame Inclination to recover it as was in his Predeceſſors. To this Undertaking he was ſtimulated, not only by his own Impulſe, but alſo by all the young Noblemen of *France*, by the Glory of *Gaſton de Foix*, and by the Memory of ſo many Victories obtained by the laſt Kings in *Italy*. That he might not however put others on their Guard in order to reſiſt him before the Time, by Advice of his Counſel, he diſſembled his Intentions, and in the mean time applied himſelf to negotiate, as is cuſtomary for new Monarchs,

A. D. 1515.

A. D. 1515. Treaties of Friendſhip with other Princes, many of whom ſoon ſent Ambaſſadors to him. He received them all with a chearful Countenance, but above all the reſt thoſe of the King of *England*. That Prince, the Offence he had received from the Catholic King ſtill remaining freſh upon his Memory, was deſirous to perpetuate the Friendſhip begun by King *Lewis*. At the ſame Time arrived an Embaſſy from the Archduke, at the Head of which was M. *de Nauſau*, with Marks of great Submiſſion as to a Sovereign Lord, becauſe his Maſter was in poſſeſſion of the Earldom of *Flanders*, which acknowledged the Superiority of the Crown of *France*. Both theſe Embaſſies had a quick and eaſy Diſpatch; for the Confederacy between the King of *England* and the late King was renewed on the ſame Conditions, and during their reſpective Lives, reſerving the Space of three Years for the King of *Scotland* to accede to it. And many of thoſe Difficulties which, it was imagined, would have obſtructed an Agreement with the Archduke, were ceaſed. That Prince, who

was

was juſt come of Age, and had taken the Government of his States into his own Hands, was induced to make this Step by ſeveral Motives; as, the Inſtances of the People of *Flanders*, who were unwilling to have Wars with the Kingdom of *France*; a Deſire to ſecure himſelf from the Obſtacles which the *French* might throw in his Way to the Succeſſion of the Kingdom of *Spain* after the Death of his Grandfather; and alſo becauſe he thought it unſafe to leave himſelf without any Tyes of Friendſhip between the united Powers of *France* and *England*; and, on the other Side, the King of *France* was very deſirous to remove all Occaſions that might conſtrain the Archduke to be governed by the Counſels and Authority of either of his Grandfathers. *A. D.* 1515.

A PEACE therefore and perpetual Confederacy was concluded between them in the City of *Paris*, with Leave reſerved for *Cæſar* and the Catholic King, without whoſe Authority the Archduke took upon him to make the Agreement, to accede within three Months. By this Conven- Peace between the King of *France* and the Archduke.

A. D. 1515. tion was confirmed the Marriage, ſo often negotiated, between the Archduke and *Renée* Daughter of the late King *Lewis*, with a Dowry of Eight Hundred Thouſand Crowns, and the Dutchy of *Berry* in Perpetuity to her and her Children. The Princeſs, being as yet of a very tender Age, was to have this Dowry aſſigned to her as ſoon as ſhe came to be nine Years old, on condition that ſhe ſhould renounce all Rights of Inheritance either by the Father's or Mother's Side, and namely thoſe which might belong to her on the Dutchies of *Milan* and *Bretany*; and the King was obliged to furniſh the Archduke with Men and Ships for his Voyage to *Spain* after the Death of the Catholic King. At the King's Requeſt the Duke of *Guelderland* was nominated, and ſome affirm that, beſides the Premiſes, it was agreed that within three Months an Embaſſy ſhould be ſent to the King of *Aragon*, with a Commiſſion from both Parties, to demand of him to cauſe the People to take an Oath to the Archduke as Prince of the Kingdom of *Spain*, which is the Title of the preſumptive Succeſſor,

to

to reſtore the Kingdom of *Navarre*, and to forbear defending the Dutchy of *Milan*. A. D. 1515. It is not to be doubted but that each of theſe two Princes had more Regard in this Confederacy to the Conveniencies it ſeemed to offer at preſent, than Intention to obſerve it for the Time to come. For what Dependence could be placed on the promiſed Nuptials, the Spouſe being as yet under Four Years of Age? Or how could the King of *France* like to ſee the Archduke eſpouſe *Renée*, who, by the Marriage of her elder Siſter to the King, was inveſted with a Right to the Dutchy of *Bretany*? For the *Bretons* being deſirous to have at one time or other a Duke of their own, when *Anne* their Dutcheſs contracted a ſecond Marriage, covenanted that if her firſt-born Child came to the Crown of *France*, the Dutchy of *Bretany* ſhould deſcend to the next born, and to the Deſcendants of that Birth.

THE King of *France* treated alſo with the Catholic King on prolonging the Truce made with his Predeceſſor, but with an Exception to the Condition of not

A. D. 1515. moleſting, during the Truce, the Dutchy of *Milan*. He was in Hopes that he ſhould eaſily after this come to an Agreement with *Cæſar*, for which Purpoſe he kept the *Venetians*, who offered to renew the League made with the late King, in Suſpenſe, chuſing to be at Liberty to engage with *Cæſar* againſt them. But the Catholic King, though much influenced, as he was always, by his Deſire to keep all Wars at a Diſtance from the Frontiers of *Spain*, yet conſidering that the Prolongation of the Truce would give great Umbrage to the *Swiſs*, and that ſuch a Step, by which his Words would be no longer credited, nor his Advice regarded, might induce the Pontiff, who had hitherto ſtood doubtful, to embrace the Friendſhip of the *French*, he at laſt refuſed to prolong the Truce but on the ſame Conditions on which the late King had renewed it.

Ferdinando refuſes to prolong the Truce with the *French*.

FRANCIS therefore barred from all Hopes on that Quarter, and having leſs Reaſon to expect that *Cæſar* would enter into an Agreement with him contrary to the Will and Advice of the King of *Aragon*, confirmed

confirmed anew the League with the *Venetian* Senate in the ſame Form in which it had been made by his Predeceſſor. There remained now the Pontiff and the *Swiſs*; of theſe latter he demanded Admittance for his Ambaſſadors, but they continuing as inexorable as ever refuſed to grant them a Paſs; and with the Pontiff, on whoſe Will the *Florentines* entirely depended, he proceeded no farther at preſent than to adviſe him to keep himſelf free from all Obligations of any Kind, that whenever he ſhould be admoniſhed by the Progreſs of Affairs to come to a Reſolution it might be in his Power to chuſe the better Part, aſſuring him at the ſame time that there was no Perſon upon Earth more devoted to him than himſelf, or from whom his Holineſs might expect a more ſincere Affection, more of Honour and Integrity, or more advantageous Conditions for himſelf and his Family. A. D. 1515. *Francis* renews the League with the *Venetians*.

THE King having laid theſe Foundations for his Proceedings, began with great Application to provide himſelf with a good Fund of Money, and to augment his Eſtabliſhment *Francis* prepares for War.

A. D. 1515. Eſtabliſhment of Lances to Four Thouſand, publiſhing abroad that he had no Intention to act offenſively this Year, but only to put himſelf in a State of Defence againſt the *Swiſs*, who threatened, if he did not fulfil the Convention made in the Name of the late King at *Dijon*, to make an Irruption into *Burgundy* or *Dauphiné*. This Diſſimulation paſſed with many for real Truth, from the Example of the laſt Kings, who had always avoided involving themſelves in new Wars in the firſt Year of their Reign; but it made not the ſame Impreſſion on the Minds of *Cæſar* and the King of *Aragon*, who were apprehenſive of the King's Youth, and of the Facility with which he could, beyond what was uſual with the other Kings, ſerve himſelf with the Forces of the whole Kingdom of *France*, in which he was vaſtly beloved and eſteemed. Beſides, it was known that King *Lewis* had left great Preparations, whence it appeared that, ſince there were no Apprehenſions from *England*, the War was not the Conſequence of a new Reſolution taken by the King, but rather the Execution

Execution of what had been before re- *A. D.* 1515.
ſolved.

CÆSAR therefore and the Catholic King, that they might not be oppreſſed without Means for Defence, earneſtly ſollicited an Alliance with the Pontiff and the *Swiſs*. The Pontiff amuſed both Parties with fair Speeches, and endeavoured to feed them all with various Hopes, but declined as yet to make any poſitive Declaration. As for the *Swiſs*, the Ardor of their firſt Reſentment not only continued but ſtill increaſed, the Cauſes of the public Indignation commenced from a Refuſal to augment their Penſions, and from King *Lewis*'s inviting *German* Foot to liſt themſelves in his Service, with his uttering abuſive and diſdainful Speeches againſt their Nation, being aggravated by private Grievances, Uneaſineſs and Ambition, by the Jealouſy which the Populace had conceived of many private Perſons, who had received Preſents and Penſions from the King of *France*, and becauſe thoſe who were moſt ardently zealous in oppoſing the Leaders of the Party that favoured the *French*,

A. D. 1515. *French*, then commonly called GALLICANS, having, on the Merit of their Services, with the Favour of the common People, aſcended to Honour and Greatneſs, were apprehenſive of a Diminution of their Authority if the Republic ſhould again enter into Engagements with the Crown of *France*. Hence the public Councils and Debates not being managed with a Zeal for the common Good, but by Ambition and civil Diſſenſion, the Intereſt of thoſe who oppoſed the *Gallicans* prevailed, and it was reſolved that the vaſt; or rather profuſe, Offers of the *French* ſhould be rejected.

Swiſs reject the Offers of the *French*

IN this Diſpoſition of Minds and Circumſtances the Ambaſſadors of *Cæſar*, the King of *Aragon*, and Duke of *Milan* aſſembled in Council with the *Swiſs*, and contracted with them, in the Name of their Princes, a Confederacy for the Defence of *Italy*, reſerving Time for the Pope to accede till the *Sunday* called *Lætare* in the next *Lent*. In this Treaty it was agreed that, in order to oblige the King of *France* to renounce his Pretenſions to the

Confederacy of *Cæſar*, King of *Aragon*, and the *Swiſs*.

the Dutchy of *Milan*, the *Swiſs*, on the Monthly Payment of Thirty Thouſand Crowns by the other Confederates, ſhould invade *Burgundy* or *Dauphiné*; and that the Catholic King ſhould, with a potent Army, enter the Kingdom of *France*, either by the Way of *Perpignan* or of *Fontarabia*, that the *French* King being obliged to defend his own Dominions might not have it in his Power, though he were never ſo much inclined, to moleſt the Dutchy of *Milan*. A. D. 1515.

THE Reſolution of the King was kept ſecret till *June*, but at laſt from the Greatneſs of his Preparations, and the Care and Diligence with which they were carried on, it was impoſſible to diſſemble the Occaſion of ſo conſiderable a Movement; for the King had provided himſelf with immenſe Sums of Money, enliſted great Numbers of *German* Foot, ſent a large Train of Artillery towards *Lions*, and laſt of all diſpatched into *Guyenne Pietro Navarra*, with Orders to levy Ten Thouſand Foot on the Frontiers of *Navarre*. The King had lately taken this Officer into his Service,

A. D. 1515. Service, becauſe the King of *Aragon* being incenſed againſt him, as looking upon him to be in a great meaſure the Cauſe of the ill Succeſs of the Battle of *Ravenna*, had never conſented to pay his Ranſom, which was rated at Twenty Thouſand Ducats, and had been given by the late King to the Marquis of *Rothelin*, to indemnify him in Part for the Hundred Thouſand Crowns which he had paid for his Ranſom in *England*. But the new Monarch reſolving to have the Benefit of his Service, had, when he came to the Crown, defrayed his Ranſom himſelf, and afterwards taken him into his Pay, *Pietro* having previouſly, to clear his Honour, ſent his Excuſes to the King of *Aragon* for giving Way to Neceſſity when he found himſelf abandoned by him, ſurrendering at the ſame time into his Hands the Eſtate which the King had beſtowed on him in the Kingdom of *Naples*.

Pietro Navarra enters into the *French* Service.

THE Public then being convinced that the War was prepared againſt *Milan*, and that the King reſolved to make the Expedition in Perſon, *Francis* began openly to

to ſollicit the Pope to join with him, employing for that Purpoſe, beſides a Multitude of Perſuaſions and other Inſtruments, the Mediation of *Giuliano* his Brother, who had lately married *Philiberta*, Siſter of *Charles* Duke of *Savoy*, Aunt to the King by the Mother's Side, and had ſettled on her a Dowry of an Hundred Thouſand Crowns of the Pope's Money. This Alliance put the King in Hopes that the Pope would incline to be his Friend, having contracted ſo near an Affinity with him, and the rather becauſe having before treated with the Catholic King about matching *Giuliano* with a Kinſwoman of his of the Family of *Cardona*, it appeared that more out of Reſpect to him than for any other Reaſon he had preferred this Match to the other. And the King did not doubt but *Giuliano* would heartily promote his Intereſt with the Pope, from an ambitious Deſire of acquiring by his Means ſome State ſufficient to ſupport him in a Manner ſuitable to ſo grand a Marriage, and of more firmly eſtabliſhing and rendering perpetual the Government of the Cities of *Modena*, *Reggio*, *Parma* and *Piacenza*, which

A. D. 1515.

Grand Marriage of the Pope's Brother.

A. D. 1515. which the Pope had lately given him, and in which he could hardly expect to maintain himself, without the Favour of mighty Princes, after the Death of his Brother.

But the Hopes of the King began soon to be blasted, for the Pope had granted to the King of *Aragon* the Croisades* of the Kingdom of *Spain* for two Years, by which, it was believed, he would raise above a Million of Ducats; and had besides given a very favourable Audience to *Alberto da Carpi* and *Girolamo Vich*, Ambassadors of *Cæsar* and the Catholic King, who were very assiduous in their Attendance on him, and were thought to communicate in all his Counsels. The Pope industriously kept the Public in this State of Ambiguity, giving fair Words, and shewing the best of Intentions to those who interceded for the King of *France*, without effectually coming to any Conclusion, but acting as one who

* A Tax, so called because it was levied for the Support of those who wore the Badge, and fought under the Banner of the Cross against the Infidels, as in the Holy Wars.

who desired above all things that the Dutchy of *Milan* should not fall into the Hands of foreign Princes. *A. D.* 1515.

THE King therefore, willing to be satisfied of the Pope's Disposition, deputed to him new Ambassadors, among whom was *Guillaume Budé* of *Paris*, a Man of profound, and perhaps singular, Erudition in the Studies of Humanity, as well *Greek* as *Latin*, above all the Men of our Times. After these he sent *Antonio Maria Palavicino*, a Person acceptable to the Pontiff; but he might have spared all this Trouble, for *Leo* had, before his Arrival, very privately, as far back as *July*, entered into a Convention with the other Princes for the Defence of the State of *Milan*. But as he was willing that this Resolution should remain an absolute Secret till the Necessity of Affairs constrained him to declare himself, and was moreover desirous that his Declaration should be supported by some Excuse, he sometimes demanded the King's Consent that the Church should keep Possession of *Parma* and *Piacenza*, and sometimes made other Petitions, with an Intent

Pope confederates against the *French*.

A. D. 1515. that from a Denial of one or other of his Demands it might appear that it was Neceſſity rather than Choice that induced him to join with the King's Enemies; yet doubting that the King would deny him nothing that he could with any manner of Decency propoſe, he continued to amuſe him with various, ambiguous, and irreſolute Anſwers.

BUT *Leo* was paid in his own Coin, and was treated by others in the ſame cunning and artful Manner; for *Ottaviano Fregoſo*, Doge of *Genoa*, dreading the formidable Preparations of the King of *France*, and on the other Hand apprehenſive of Danger from the Succeſs of the Confederates, on account of the Inclination of the Duke of *Milan* and the *Swiſs* to his Adverſaries, had, by the Mediation of the Duke of *Bourbon*, very privately entered into an Agreement with the King of *France*, having, both while the Treaty was under Negotiation, and after it was concluded, with the greateſt Conſtancy always aſſured the Pope of the contrary. And becauſe *Ottaviano* had been

Ottaviano Fregoſa capitulates with the French

been an old and intimate Friend and Acquaintance of *Leo* and his Brother *Giuliano*, who had favoured him in his Attempt to make himſelf Doge, the Pontiff repoſed ſo much Confidence in him, that when the Duke of *Milan*, ſuſpecting his Deſign from general Report, was diſpoſed to attack him with Four Thouſand *Swiſs*, who were already advanced to *Novara*, in conjunction with the *Adorni* and *Fieſchi*, his Holineſs interpoſed, and prevented their further Proceedings. A. D. 1515.

THE Articles on which *Ottaviano* capitulated were in Subſtance as follows: That the King ſhould be reſtored to the Dominion of *Genoa*, together with the Caſtelletto: That *Ottaviano* ſhould diveſt himſelf of the Title of Doge, and be conſtituted by the King perpetual Governor, with Power to diſpoſe of the Offices of *Genoa*: That the King ſhould give him the Command of One Hundred Lances, inveſt him with the Order of *St. Michael*, and ſettle on him an annual Proviſion during Life: That the King ſhould not rebuild the Fortreſs of *Codiſa*, The Conditions.

A. D. 1515. which had been a great Eyesore to the *Genoese*, and should grant to the City of *Genoa* all those Covenants and Privileges which had been disannulled and burnt by King *Lewis*: And lastly, that he should assign a certain Portion of Ecclesiastic Revenues to *Federigo* Archbishop of *Salerno*, *Ottaviano*'s Brother; and to *Ottaviano* himself, if he should ever happen to be driven out of *Genoa*, some Lordships in *Provence*.

Ottaviano justifies his Conduct.

WHEN this Capitulation came to be made public it was no hard Matter for *Ottaviano* to justify his Resolution, because, as every one knew, he had just Reason to be afraid of the Duke of *Milan* and the *Swiss*. What only cast some Stain upon his Character was his frequently repeated Denial of the Truth to the Pope, from whom he had received so many Favours, and not keeping his Word with him, in which he had promised to make no Agreement without his Consent. However in a long Letter which he afterwards wrote to the Pope in his Justification, after he had accurately laid before him all the Reasons

Reaſons that had induced him, with all the Excuſes he could make in Defence of his Honour, and of his Proceedings, in which he had by no means acted in Contempt of that Devotion which was due to him as Pontiff and his Benefactor, he concludes that his Juſtification would be more difficult if he were to write to private Perſons, or to a Prince who meaſured the Affairs of State by private Conſiderations; but ſince he wrote to as wiſe a Prince as any in this Age, whoſe Wiſdom enabled him to judge that it was impoſſible for him to ſecure his State by any other Method, it was ſuperfluous to make Excuſes to one who knew already, and perfectly underſtood what was lawful, or at leaſt uſual for Princes to do, not only when reduced to ſuch a Neceſſity, but even for Improvement of their States, and putting them in a more flouriſhing Condition. A. D. 1515.

But by this Time the Face of Affairs was altered, and Words and Counſels were exchanged for Deeds and Execution; for the King of *France* was arrived at *Lions*,

A. D. 1515

attended by all the Nobility of *France* with the Dukes of *Lorrain* and *Guelderland*, on his March towards the Mountains with a greater and more flouriſhing Army than had for a very long Time paſſed out of *France* into *Italy*. The King was ſecure from being moleſted beyond the Mountains, for the King of *Aragon*, who had at firſt, from an Apprehenſion that theſe vaſt Preparations might be turned againſt himſelf, guarded his Frontiers, and that the People might with the more Alacrity fight in Defence of *Navarre*, united for ever that Kingdom to *Caſtile*, as ſoon as he was ſatisfied that the War manifeſtly directed its Courſe to *Italy*, diſbanded all the Troops that he had aſſembled, and had no more Regard to the Promiſe which he had made that Year to the Confederates to make War in *France*, than he had to the Promiſes he had made them in the Year preceding.

King of *France* marches for *Italy*.

At the Fame of the March of the *French* Army, the Viceroy, who, after he had for many Months remained in a kind of

of Truce with the *Venetians*, was arrived in the *Vicentine* in order to approach the Enemy, who were very ſtrongly encamped in the Neighbourhood of *Olmi* near to *Vicenza*, returned with his Army to *Verona*, with a Deſign, as he reported, to march to the Defence of the Dutchy of *Milan*. The Pontiff alſo ordered his own Men at Arms and thoſe of the *Florentines* to march for *Lombardy* under the Command of his Brother, who was elected General of the Church, in order to ſuccour the ſaid Dutchy, according to his Agreement made not many Days before with the other Confederates, tho', with his uſual Diſſimulation, he pretended that they were deſigned only for the Security of *Piacenza*, *Parma*, and *Reggio*, and had gone ſuch great Lengths with the *French* Ambaſſadors that the King, perſuading himſelf that he might depend upon his Alliance, had diſpatched Orders from *Lions* to his Miniſters with full Powers for concluding an Agreement, conſenting that the Church ſhould keep Poſſeſſion of *Piacenza* and *Parma* till ſhe

A. D. 1515.

Pope diſſembles with the King of *France*.

A. D. 1515. received from him ſuch a Recompence as the Pope himſelf ſhould approve.

BUT all theſe Remedies, for Reaſons which will appear hereafter, were of no Service; it was decreed that the Dutchy of *Milan* ſhould be ſaved or loſt only with the Danger and by the Blood of the *Swiſs*. That People, not retarded by any Neglect, or the ſmall Supply of Money, deſcended with all Diligence into the *Milaneſe*, to the Number of more than Twenty Thouſand Men, Ten Thouſand of whom drew off towards the Mountains, with a Deſign to poſſeſs themſelves of the narrow Paſſes of the Valleys which from the Foot of the *Alps* that divide *Italy* from *France* extend themſelves into wide and open Plains, and ſo prevent the Progreſs of the *French*.

Swiſs deſcend into *Italy*.

THIS Reſolution of the *Swiſs* greatly diſturbed the King, who before had aſſured himſelf of Victory from the Multitude of his Forces: For his Army conſiſted of Two Thouſand Five Hundred Lances, Twenty-two Thouſand

German

German Foot commanded by the Duke of *Guelderland*, Ten Thouſand *Baſques* *, (ſo were called the Infantry inliſted by *Pietro Navarra*) Eight Thouſand *French*, and Three Thouſand Pioneers, who received the ſame Pay as the other Foot. The King, on conſulting with his Officers, agreed that, conſidering the Valour of the *Swiſs*, it would be impoſſible to force them from the ſtrong and narrow Paſſes even with a much ſuperior Number, which could be of no Service in ſuch ſtrait Places; that it would be difficult to perform any thing of Moment in a ſhort Time, and more difficult to ſtay long in ſo barren a Country, with ſo great an Army, tho' vaſt Convoys of Proviſions were continually on the Roads towards the Mountains. In theſe Perplexities ſome, who had more Hopes from making a Diverſion than from a direct Attack, propoſed detaching Eight Hundred Lances by the Way of *Provence*, and ſending *Pietro*

A. D. 1515.

French conſult on paſſing the *Alps*.

* In the Original *Guaſchi*, which the *French* properly enough tranſlate *Baſques*, which we chuſe to keep, and is as much as to ſay *Biſcayners*, for *Navarra*; as we read before, was ordered to levy Soldiers on the Frontiers of *Navarre*, which joins to *Biſcay*.

A. D. 1515. *Pietro Navarra* with his Ten Thouſand *Baſques* by Sea, who might join with the Lances at *Savona*. Others objected againſt this Scheme, that ſo great a Compaſs required too much Time, that the Forces would be weakened, and the Reputation of the Enemy too much increaſed by betraying a Want of Reſolution to encounter with them. It was then reſolved that, without turning much out of the Road they were in, they ſhould attempt a Paſſage at ſome other Quarter, which either might not be obſerved, or at leaſt not ſo well guarded by the Enemy; for which Purpoſe *Emard de Prye* ſhould march with Four Hundred Lances and Five Hundred Foot by the Way of *Genoa*, not with Hopes of making a Diverſion, but to infeſt *Aleſſandria* and the other Towns on this Side the *Po*.

Two Roads over the *Alps*.

THERE are two Roads over the *Alps* which are uſually taken by thoſe who travel from *Lions* to *Italy*; one by *Monſaneſe*, a Mountain within the Dominion of the Duke of *Savoy*, which is the ſhorteſt, ſtraiteſt, and generally the moſt frequented;

ed; the other winds about from *Lions* to *Grenoble*, and paſſes over the Mountain of *Monginevra*, within the Juriſdiction of *Dauphiné*; both the Roads meet at *Suſa*, where the Plain begins to open, but that of *Monginevra*, though ſomewhat longer, yet being eaſier, and more convenient for conveying the Artillery, was always taken by the *French* Armies. The *Swiſs*, intent on guarding theſe two Paſſes and ſome others that led to the neighbouring Places, had poſted themſelves at *Suſa*, becauſe the Paſſes lower down towards the Sea were ſo narrow and ſteep that it would be very difficult for the Cavalry of ſo great an Army, and ſeemed impoſſible for the Artillery to make its Way through them. On the other hand *Trivulzio*, whom the King had entruſted with this difficult Affair, attended by a vaſt Number of Pioneers, and having about him ſome ſkilful and induſtrious Perſons, who were well experienced in the drawing of Artillery, whom he ordered to view the Places that had been propoſed, employed himſelf in ſearching out the eaſieſt Way of Paſſage that was not obſtructed by the *Swiſs*; the Army in the

A. D. 1515.

A. D. 1515. the mean time, the greater Part of which was extended along the Road between *Grenoble* and *Brianſon*, proceeded but ſlowly, in Expectation of what would be reſolved, and alſo of receiving ſome neceſſary Supplies of Proviſion.

Henry excited againſt the King of *France*.

At this Juncture the King, who had ſet out from *Lions*, was addreſſed by a Gentleman deputed from the King of *England*, who, in the Name of his Maſter, remonſtrated, in very ſtrong Terms, againſt his diſturbing the Peace of Chriſtendom by his Paſſage into *Italy*. The Cauſe of ſo great a Change was, that *Henry* being jealous of the Friendſhip contracted between the Archduke and the King of *France*, whoſe Affairs, he fancied, went on with too proſperous a Career, had begun to hearken to the Ambaſſadors of the Catholic King, who never ceaſed demonſtrating how pernicious to him he would find at laſt the Greatneſs of the King of *France*, whom, on account of his natural Hatred, and becauſe he had made his firſt Campaign againſt him, he could not but regard as his bitter Enemy. But he was more

more excited againſt him by Emulation, and Envy of his Glory, which he imagined would increaſe beyond Meaſure if he ſhould ſubdue the State of *Milan*. He conſidered with himſelf that when he came to the Crown, though he found his Kingdom at perfect Reſt, and grown very rich by a long Peace, and himſelf in Poſſeſſion of ſo great a Treaſure accümulated by his Father, yet he had not, till after ſome Years, ventured to attack the King of *France*, and then at an Opportunity when he was alone, ſurrounded by ſo many Enemies, and worn out by ſo many Labours and Vexations. But the preſent King, ſomewhat younger than himſelf, when he came to the Crown, though he found his Kingdom wearied and exhauſted by ſo many Wars, had yet ventured, in the firſt Months of his Reign, to undertake an Enterpriſe, in which he was ſure to meet with Oppoſition from ſo many Princes. As for himſelf, he thought, with ſuch great Preparations, and ſo many Opportunities, he had brought back to *England* no Gain nor Honour but the Conqueſt of *Tournay*, and that at an infinite

A. D. 1515.

and

A. D. 1515. and intolerable Expence; whereas the King of *France*, if he obtained the Victory, as probably he would, by the Acquiſition of ſo fine a Dutchy, would return into his Kingdom in full Triumph and Glory, having opened a Way alſo, and, perhaps before he left *Italy*, taken an Opportunity, for attacking the Kingdom of *Naples*. Stimulated by ſuch Motives and Incentives his old Antipathy eaſily revived in his Breaſt, and as he could not for Want of Time give any Check to *Francis* with his Arms, and perhaps ſeeking alſo Occaſion to furniſh himſelf with more Pretences for juſtifying his Deſigns, he took care to ſend him this dehortatory Meſſage.

BUT the King of *France*, not retarded in his Expedition by *Henry*'s Remonſtrances, proceeded from *Lions* to *Dauphiné*, where he reviewed the *German* Forces, arrived ſome time before under the Command of *Robert de la Marche*, and called the *Black Band*. Theſe Troops had been raiſed in *Lower Germany*, and were in high Eſtimation for their Valour, and conſtant Faithfulneſs in the *French* Service.

The *Black Band.*

At

At this Time *Gianjacopo da Trivulzi* signified to the King that it was practicable to convey the Artillery over the Mountains between the maritime and *Cottian Alps*, and deſcend towards the Marquiſate of *Saluzzo*, where, though the Difficulties were almoſt inconceivable, yet conſidering the vaſt Number of Pioneers well provided with all Manner of Tools, he could not fail at laſt to ſucceed: That ſince there was no Guard on that Side, neither on the Tops of the Hills nor at the Entrances into the Valleys, it was better to attempt ſurmounting the Ruggedneſs of the Mountains, and the Precipices of the Dales, which, though a Work of vaſt Labour, yet did not endanger the Lives of the Men, than to uſe Efforts for compelling the *Swiſs* to abandon the Paſſes, and forcing Troops ſo much dreaded, and obſtinately bent to conquer or die, eſpecially conſidering that, if they met with Reſiſtance, the Army could not continue there many Days, ſince no Strength nor Art could convey, over ſuch rough and barren Places, Proviſions enough to ſubſiſt ſo great a Multitude. This Counſel was embraced, and

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New Paſſage over the *Alps*.

A. D. 1515. and the Artillery, which had reſted in a Place convenient for turning it any Way, was immediately moved along that Road.

French convey their Artillery over the Mountains with Difficulty.

TRIVULZIO had given Notice that the Difficulty of conveying the Cannon would be very conſiderable, but it was found by Experience much greater than had been imagined, for it was neceſſary to aſcend to the Tops of very high and rugged Mountains, which could not be mounted without vaſt Labour and Toil, becauſe there were no Paths, and every now and then there wanted a ſufficient Breadth for the Artillery, till it was widened Foot after Foot by the Pioneers, who ſtill advanced before the reſt, and were employed ſometimes in enlarging the narrow Paſſes, ſometimes in levelling the Hillocks that obſtructed the Way. From the Tops of the Mountains they deſcended by very abrupt Precipices, moſt frightful even to behold, into the vaſtly deep Grounds near the Channel of the River *Argentiera*, in which Deſcent the Horſes that drew the Artillery, though very numerous, together with the Shoulders of the Pioneers

that

that attended it, not being ſufficient to guide and ſupport it, they were often obliged to diſmount the heavy Pieces of Cannon, and to let them down, ſuſpended by very thick Cables, by the Hands of the Soldiers, who in theſe difficult Circumſtances were ready to undergo all manner of Fatigue. Nor was their Toil at an End after they had paſſed the firſt Mountains and Valleys, for they had others to paſs with the ſame Difficulties. At laſt, after a continued Labour of five Days, the Artillery arrived in the Plains of the Marquiſate of *Saluzzo* on this Side the Mountains, having met with ſuch Obſtructions and Difficulties, that it is moſt certain if there had been any Reſiſtance, or if the Mountains, as the greater Part of them uſually are, had been covered with Snow, all Labour would have been in vain; but they were ſecured from any Oppoſition, becauſe the *Swiſs* poſted at *Suſa* were intent on guarding the Places through which you muſt come after paſſing *Monſaneſe*, *Monginevra*, or the neighbouring Mountains, and had imagined that it was impracticable to convey Artillery over ſuch A. D. 1515.

A. D. 1515. rugged Eminences; and the Seaſon of the Year, it being about the Tenth of *Auguſt*, had removed the Impediment of the Snows, which were already melted.

THE Men at Arms and the Foot, not without many Difficulties, paſſed the Mountains at the ſame time, ſome by the ſame Road, others by the Paſs they call the *Dragoniera*, and others again over the high Tops of the Mountains of the *Rocca Perotta*, and of *Cuni*, Paſſes lower down towards *Provence*. Monſ. *Paliſſe*, after paſſing by this laſt Road, had an Opportunity of performing a memorable Action; for departing from *Singlare* with four Squadrons of Horſe, under the Conduct of the Peaſants, after a very long March, he arrived at *Villa Franca*, a Town ſeven Miles from *Saluzzo*, and of more Note than it otherwiſe deſerves, becauſe near it riſes the ſo much celebrated River *Po*. In this Place *Proſpero Colonna* was quartered with his Company, without the leaſt Suſpicion of Danger, becauſe of the great Diſtance of the Enemy, in whom he had no Apprehenſions of that Quickneſs, which he

he himſelf, who was naturally very ſlow, was never wont to uſe, and ſome ſay that he intended that ſame Day to join the *Swiſs*. But, however that be, it is certain that he was dining at his Table when the Troops of *Paliſſe* came upon him, unperceived by any before they were in the ſame Houſe; for the Inhabitants of the Town, with whom *Paliſſe*, intent on ſo great a Prey, had before held private Intelligence, had, with as little Noiſe as poſſible, ſeized the Centinels. Thus was *Proſpero Colonna*, ſo famous a General, and of ſo great Importance in that War on account of his Credit and Authority in the Dutchy of *Milan*, taken Priſoner on the Fifteenth Day of *Auguſt* in a Manner not ſuitable to his former Glory. With *Proſpero* was taken *Pietro Margano*, a *Roman*. and Part of his Company, the reſt at the firſt Alarm diſperſing themſelves into various Parts made their Eſcape.

A. D. 1515.

Proſpero Colonna taken Priſoner.

THE Paſſage of the *French*, and the Misfortune of *Proſpero Colonna* cauſed an Alteration in the Counſels of every Party concerned, and changed the State of Af-

A. D. 1515. fairs in general, creating new Diſpoſitions in the Minds of the Pope, the Viceroy, and the *Swiſs*. For the Pope, who had firmly perſuaded himſelf that the King would never be able to paſs the Mountains againſt the Oppoſition of the *Swiſs*, and had great Confidence in the Valour of *Proſpero Colonna*, being now much ſunk in Spirits, commanded his Nephew *Lorenzo*, Captain General of the *Florentines*, to whom, becauſe his Brother *Giuliano* lay ill of a lingering Fever at *Florence*, he had committed the Charge of conducting the Army into *Lombardy*, and who three Days after the Misfortune of *Proſpero* was arrived at *Modena*, to proceed ſlowly. *Lorenzo*, taking this Opportunity to recover the Caſtle of *Rubiera*, which had been ſeized by *Guido Rangone*, and for which he paid him at laſt, upon their Agreement, Two Thouſand Ducats, waſted many Days in the Territories of *Modena* and *Reggio*. Beſides this, the Pontiff, having recourſe to his uſual Arts, diſpatched away very privately *Cintio* his Confident to the King of *France*, to make his Excuſes for all that had hitherto paſſed,

Pope alarmed at the Succeſs of the King of *France*.

and

and to enter on a Treaty of Agreement by the Mediation of the Duke of *Savoy*, with a View that from this Beginning he might the more eaſily proceed much further, if the Defence of the Dutchy of *Milan* ſucceeded unhappily. *A. D.* 1515.

Evil Counſellors about the Pope.

BUT Cardinal *Bibbiena* and ſome others, influenced more by private Paſſions than by the Intereſt of their Prince, would have hurried the Pontiff into more precipitate Meaſures; for they repreſented to him that it was to be feared the Fame of the proſperous Succeſs of the *French* Army, and the Incitements and perhaps alſo the Aſſiſtance of the King would encourage the Duke of *Ferrara* to attempt the Recovery of *Modena* and *Reggio*, and the *Bentivogli* to return to *Bologna*: That in the Midſt of ſo many other Troubles it was difficult to contend with ſo many Enemies, for which Reaſon as it was a better and doubtleſs a more prudent Meaſure to anticipate their Good-will by Kindneſs, and ſo win their Hearts as to make them, at all Events, his faithful Friends, they therefore perſuaded him to

A. D. 1515. recall the *Bentivogli* to *Bologna*, and reſtore *Modena* and *Reggio* to the Duke of *Ferrara*.

Faithful Counſel of Cardinal *Giulio*.

THIS Counſel would certainly have been followed without Delay, if *Giulio de' Medici*, Cardinal, and Legate of *Bologna*, whom the Pope had ſent thither to take upon him the Adminiſtration of Affairs in thoſe Parts, in ſo critical a Time, and to be a Moderator and Counſellor to the unexperienced Youth of *Lorenzo*, had not been of a contrary Opinion. The Cardinal was deeply concerned at the Diſgrace which the Pope would incur from ſo weak and puſillanimous a Step; a Diſgrace certainly greater than the Glory that *Julius* had obtained by acquiring ſuch conſiderable Dominions to the Church. He was moved alſo with Grief at the Infamy and Reproach that would be caſt on the Memory of his Legateſhip, on which he had no ſooner entered, it would be ſaid, than he gave up *Bologna*, the principal City of the whole Eccleſiaſtic State into the Hands of its old Tyrants, ſacrificing to their Revenge ſo great a Number

Number of the Nobility, who had openly declared againſt them in favour of the Apoſtolic See. Induced by theſe juſt Motives he ſent ſome proper Perſons to the Pontiff, and by Reaſons and Intreaties prevailed on him to hearken to ſafer and more honourable Counſels. *A. D.* 1515.

Cardinal *Giulio* illegitimate

GIULIO, tho' of illegitimate Birth, had been promoted by *Leo* to the Cardinalſhip in the firſt Months of his Pontificate, in which he followed the Example of *Alexander* VI. as to the Effect tho' not in the Manner. For *Alexander*, when he created his Son *Cæſar Borgia* a Cardinal, proved by Witneſſes, who depoſed, what was true, that his Mother at the Time of his Procreation had a Huſband, inferring from hence that, according to the Preſumption of the Laws, the Son ought to be eſteemed the Offspring of the Husband rather than of the Adulterer. But in the Caſe of *Giulio*, the Witneſſes, preferring the Favour of Men before the Truth, depoſed that his Mother, who was a Virgin and not married when he was begotten, had obtained of his Father

A. D. 1515. *Giuliano* a Promiſe of Marriage before ſhe admitted him to her Embraces.

Viceroy temporiſes

THESE new Events produced alſo ſome Alteration in the Diſpoſition of the Viceroy, who had not yet left *Verona*, on account of the Difficulty of taking the Field without Money, and becauſe he expected a new Supply of Troops from *Cæſar*, who was arrived at *Inſpruck*, that he might leave, as Neceſſity required, ſufficient Garriſons in *Verona* and *Breſcia*. On theſe and other Pretences he began to excuſe his Inactivity, and to temporiſe in Expectation of the Succeſs of the Operations in the Dutchy of *Milan*.

THE *Swiſs* alſo were put in a Commotion by this Turn of Affairs; for immediately after the Paſſage of the *French* they retired to *Pinaruolo*, tho' afterwards on Advice that the King had paſſed the *Alps*, and joined his Forces at *Turin*, they removed to *Civas*, which, becauſe the Inhabitants refuſed to give them Proviſions, they took by Force and plundered, and afterwards did the ſame at *Vercelli*, almoſt

almoſt in the Eyes of the King, who was at *Turin*; but at laſt they aſſembled together at *Novara*, where thoſe who were not ſo extremely averſe to the *French* Intereſt, taking Encouragement from the bad Situation of their Affairs, began to debate about coming to an Agreement with the King of *France*. A. D. 1515. *Swiſs at Novara.*

Now the *French* Troops which came by the Way of *Genoa*, joining with Four Thouſand Foot, paid, at the Inſtances of *Ottaviano Fregoſo*, by the *Genoeſe*, took Poſſeſſion firſt of the Town of *Caſtellaccio*, and afterwards of *Aleſſandria* and *Tortona*, in which Cities there was not a Soldier, and made themſelves Maſters of all the Country on this Side the *Po*. The King advanced to *Vercelli*, where he received the firſt Information that the Pope had declared againſt him, the Duke of *Savoy* ſignifying it to him in his Name. Tho' the King was extremely concerned at this Declaration of the Pontiff, he did not however ſuffer his Judgment to give Way to his Indignation, but, that he might not exaſperate him, commanded by public *Pope declares againſt the French.*

Pro-

A. D. 1515. Proclamation, both in his Army and among the Troops that had taken *Aleſſandria*, that none ſhould dare to moleſt or in any manner inſult the Dominions of the Church.

Diſorderly Behaviour of the *Swiſs*.

THE King after this reſted ſeveral Days at *Vercelli*, waiting the Iſſue of ſome Affairs under Negotiation with the *Swiſs*, who treating without Intermiſſion ſeemed on the other Hand full of Inconſtancy and Confuſion. In *Novara*, taking Occaſion to be tumultuous becauſe the Money which the King of *Aragon* was obliged to pay them was not yet arrived, they fell upon the Commiſſaries of the Pope, and took away by Violence the Money that he had ſent them, and in the ſame Rage broke up from *Novara* with an Intention to return to their own Country; which was what many of them deſired, who, having already been three Months in *Italy*, and loaded with Money and Plunder, were willing to carry home the Riches which they had gained in Safety to their own Houſes. But they had hardly left *Novara* when the King of *Aragon*'s Money arrived,

rived, and tho' at firſt they were ſo raſh as to ſeize it, yet reflecting on the Shame and Reproach that muſt reſult from ſuch precipitous Reſolutions, they came in ſome Meaſure to themſelves, reſtored both that and the other Money, and were contented to have it orderly diſtributed among them by the Commiſſaries. After this they removed to *Galera* in Expectation of Twenty Thouſand more of their Countrymen, who were ſaid to be on their March, and Three Thouſand of them were arrived with the Cardinal of *Sion*, being deſigned to garriſon the City of *Pavia*. A. D. 1515.

THE King therefore, whoſe Hopes of an Accommodation with the *Swiſs* were much diminiſhed by ſo many Variations in their Conduct, marched from *Vercelli* towards *Milan*, leaving at *Vercelli*, with the Duke of *Savoy*, the Baſtard his Brother, *Lautrech*, and the General of *Milan*, to continue the Negotiations begun with the *Swiſs*. He left alſo the Caſtle of *Novara* beſieged, the City having opened its Gates to him at the Departure of the *Swiſs*. The Caſtle, after a few Days Battery,

A. D. 1515. Battery, ſurrendered on Condition of Safety to the Lives and Effects of the Garriſon. The King afterwards, having *Pavia* ſurrendered to him, paſſed the *Teſino*, and the ſame Day *Gianjacopo da Trivulzi* with Part of the Troops extended himſelf to *San Criſtofano* near to *Milan*, and afterwards to the Suburb of the Gate of the *Teſino*, in Hopes that the City, which he knew to be very uneaſy under the Rapines and Exactions of the *Swiſs* and the *Spaniards*, and therefore deſirous to return under the *French* Government, and to have at preſent no Garriſon, would receive him within its Walls. But the Fear of the *Swiſs* had a mighty Influence on the People of *Milan*, and they had ſtill freſh in their Memories what they had ſuffered the laſt Year, when, on the Retreat of the *Swiſs* to *Novara*, they made an Inſurrection in favour of the King of *France*. They reſolved therefore, tho' they wiſhed the King Succeſs, to wait the Iſſue of the Enterpriſe, and ſent to *Trivulzio* to intreat him to advance no further. And the next Day they ſent Ambaſſadors to the King, who was at

Bu-

Bufaloro, humbly to beſeech his Majeſty to content himſelf with the Diſpoſition of the People of *Milan*, who were moſt devoted to his Crown, and ready to furniſh him with Proviſions, and not to inſiſt on a more manifeſt Declaration, which would be of no Service towards a Deciſion of the War, no more than it had been in their declaring themſelves laſt Year for his Predeceſſor, which had not in the leaſt promoted his Cauſe, but had done vaſt Prejudice to the City. They would have him go then in God's Name, and overcome his Enemies, aſſuring himſelf that when he came Maſter out of the Field the City of *Milan* would moſt readily receive him. The King, who was at firſt greatly incenſed againſt the *Milaneſe* for their Refuſal to receive *Trivulzio*, gave the Ambaſſadors a favourable Reception, and anſwered that he was content to comply with their Deſires. *A. D.* 1515.

Apology of the *Milaneſe* accepted.

FROM *Bufaloro* the King proceeded with his Army to *Biagraſſa*, and while he ſtaid there the Duke of *Savoy*, after giving an Audience to Twenty *Swiſs* Ambaſſadors

A. D. 1515. baſſadors ſent to him at *Vercelli*, went, accompanied by the Baſtard and the other Commiſſioners of the King, to *Galera*, and contracted a Peace with the *Swiſs* in the Name of the King on the following Conditions: That there ſhould be a perpetual Peace between the King and the Nation of the *Swiſs* during the Life of the King, and Ten Years after his Death: That the *Swiſs* and *Griſons* ſhould reſtore the Valleys which they had ſeized belonging to the Dutchy of *Milan*: That they ſhould diſcharge that State from the Obligation of paying them a yearly Penſion of Forty Thouſand Ducats: That the King ſhould grant to *Maſſimiliano* the Dutchy of *Nemours*, with a yearly Penſion of Twelve Thouſand Livres, the Command of Fifty Lances, and a Wife of the Blood royal: That he ſhould reſtore to the *Swiſs* the antient Penſion of Forty Thouſand Livres: That he ſhould beſtow three Months pay on all the *Swiſs* that were at preſent in *Lombardy*, or on their March thither; and pay to the Cantons at convenient Times Six Hundred Thouſand Crowns promiſed by the Treaty of *Dijon*, beſides

Articles of Peace between the *French* and *Swiſs*.

beſides Three Hundred Thouſand for the Reſtitution of the Valleys; and that the King ſhould conſtantly keep Four Thouſand *Swiſs* in his Pay. The Powers nominated by common Conſent were the Pope, in caſe he reſtored *Parma* and *Piacenza*, the Emperor, the Duke of *Savoy*, and the Marquis of *Monferrato*. But no Mention was made of the Catholic King, the *Venetians*, or any other *Italian* State. *A. D.* 1515.

BUT this Agreement was concluded and broken off almoſt in one Day by the Arrival of a new Body of *Swiſs* *, who animated by their paſt Victories, and in Hopes of acquiring no leſs Riches than thoſe with which they ſaw their Companions loaded, were utterly averſe to a Peace, and to obſtruct it refuſed to reſtore the Valleys; ſo that the firſt *Swiſs* being unable to repreſs the Ardor and Eagerneſs of the others, they removed their Camp, to the Number of Thirty-five Thouſand, to *Moncia*, in order to take up their Quarters Peace broken off.

* Twenty Enſigns of Infantry commanded by *Raſtia*, a Man of great Authority. *Giovio*.

A. D. 1515. Quarters in the Suburbs of *Milan*, *Alberto Petra*, a famous General, with a Number of Enſigns, leaving them and taking their Rout homewards by the Way of *Como*, which the King had purpoſely left open and unguarded*.

THE Peace then being broken almoſt as ſoon as made, Affairs returned to their former difficult and doubtful Situation, and even in a much greater Degree by the Approach of new Forces and new Armies to the Dutchy of *Milan*. For the Viceroy, leaving *Marc'-Antonio Colonna* with an Hundred Men at Arms, Sixty light Horſe, and Two Thouſand *German* Foot in Garriſon at *Verona*, and Twelve Hundred *Germans* in *Breſcia*, was at laſt come to encamp on the *Po* near *Piacenza* with Seven Hundred Men at Arms, Six Hundred light Horſe, and Six Thouſand Foot, and had laid a Bridge in Readineſs for paſſing the River. And that he might have no juſt Cauſe of Complaint *Lorenzo de'*

Motions of the *Spaniſh* and Eccleſiaſtic Armies.

* Above Ten Thouſand Men, commanded by *Alberto Pietra* and *Giov. Deſpachio*, Generals of the *Berneſe*, took their Way home by the *Lago Maggiore* and *Domoſſula*. *Giovio*.

de' Medici, who had for many Days very circumſpectly halted at *Parma* with his Army of Seven Hundred Men at Arms, Eight Hundred light Horſe, and Four Thouſand Foot, removed to *Piacenza*. But he had before, at the Requeſt of the *Swiſs*, while they were treating with the *French*, ſent Four Hundred light Horſe commanded by *Mutio Colonna*, and *Lodovico* Count of *Pitigliano*, the firſt an Officer of the Church, and the other of the *Florentines*, to ſerve them in collecting Proviſions; and this he did not ſo much from a Deſire to aſſiſt the common Cauſe, as to give no Occaſion to the *Swiſs*, if they came to an Accommodation with the King of *France*, to exclude the Pope from the Peace. *A. D.* 1515.

Expeditious March of *Alviano*.

ON the other Side *Bartolomeo d'Alviano*, who had given the King Hopes that he would keep the *Spaniſh* Army employed ſo as not to have it in their Power to hurt him, as ſoon as he was informed that the Viceroy had left *Verona*, took his March from the Poleſine of *Rovigo*, and paſſing the *Adice*, proceeded all along the *Po*,

A. D. 1515. with Nine Hundred Men at Arms, Fourteen Hundred light Horſe, Nine Thouſand Foot, and a ſuitable Train of Artillery, and was arrived with vaſt Expedition before the Walls of *Cremona*. Of this Swiftneſs, unuſual with the Generals of our Times, *Alviano* uſed to boaſt, and compare it to that of *Claudius Nero*, when he led a Part of the Army ordered to oppoſe *Aſdrubal* on the River *Metauro**.

Situation of the Armies.

THUS was the State of War not only various, but confuſed and much entangled. In the Neighbourhood of *Milan*, on one Side, was the King of *France* with an Army well provided with all Neceſſaries, and now removed to *Marignano*, in order to facilitate his Conjunction with *Alviano*, and to obſtruct that of the *Spaniſh* and Eccleſiaſtic Troops with the *Swiſs*: On the other Side lay an Army of Thirty-five Thouſand *Swiſs*, a Body of Infantry full of Fierceneſs, and hitherto in reſpect to the *French* invincible; the Viceroy on the *Po*, near *Piacenza*, and on the high Road to *Lodi*,

* *Livy, Dec.* III. *Lib.* 7. and *Plutarch* in his Life of *Hannibal.*

Lodi, with a Bridge laid for paſſing the River in order to join the *Swiſs*; and in *Piacenza* lay *Lorenzo de' Medici*, with the Troops of the Pope and the *Florentines*, ready to join the Viceroy for the ſame Purpoſe; *Alviano*, an active and daring Commander, was encamped with the *Venetian* Army in the *Cremoneſe*, almoſt on the Bank of the *Po*, in order to aſſiſt the King of *France*, either by joining him, or by diverting the Eccleſiaſtic and *Spaniſh* Armies. The City of *Lodi*, ſeated in the Middle at an equal Diſtance from *Milan* and *Piacenza*, was abandoned by all, but it had been firſt plundered by *Renzo da Ceri* while he was in the *Venetian* Service. For that Officer, on occaſion of ſome Miſunderſtanding between him and *Alviano*, had lately by Proteſtations, and in a manner by Threatenings, obtained of the Senate his Diſmiſſion, and had liſted himſelf with Two Hundred Men at Arms, and Two Hundred light Horſe, in the Service of the Pontiff; but not being able readily to get together all his Soldiers, becauſe the *Venetians* had prevented many of them from going out of *Padoua* where they were A. D. 1515.

A. D. 1515 quartered, he was gone from *Lodi* in order to raiſe Recruits for filling up the Regiment with which he had been taken into Pay.

BUT the Cardinal of *Sion*, who, being before terrified by the Negotiations which his People held with the King of *France*, and by the wavering Diſpoſition of the City of *Milan*, had with a Thouſand *Swiſs*, and Part of the Troops of the Duke of *Milan* fled to *Piacenza*, and from thence proceeded to *Cremona* to preſs the Viceroy to advance forwards, took his Way back from thence to *Milan*, before the *French* Army had obſtructed that Road, leaving ſome of his Soldiers, tho' but few, to ſecure *Lodi*, who being alarmed at the Advance of the King of *France* to *Marignano* abandoned that City.

Lodi abandoned to the *French*

WHILE the Viceroy lay on the Bank of the *Po*, and before *Lorenzo de' Medici* was advanced to *Piacenza*, his Soldiers intercepted *Cintio*, ſent by the Pontiff to the King of *France*, and as there were found upon him Briefs and credential Letters,

Pope ſecretly correſponds with the King of *France*.

ters, though he immediately diſmiſſed the Meſſenger out of Reverence to the Perſon who had ſent him, he began ſtrongly to ſuſpect that the Hopes which had been given him that the Eccleſiaſtic Army was to paſs the *Po* in Conjunction with his own, were fruitleſs, and the rather becauſe about the ſame time he had learnt that *Lorenzo de' Medici* had privately ſent one of his own Attendants to the ſame King. And he was not wrongly informed; for *Lorenzo*, either from his own Motion, or by Command of the Pope, had ſent to excuſe himſelf to the King for leading an Army againſt him, on account of the Neceſſity he was under to obey the Pope, but that, as far as it was poſſible for him, without provoking the Indignation of his Uncle, or ſtaining his own Honour, he would do his utmoſt Endeavours to ſatisfy him, as it had always been, and was now more than ever, his Deſire. A. D. 1515.

BUT as ſoon as *Lorenzo* arrived at *Piacenza*, there began between the Viceroy and him with others that aſſiſted in Council, a Debate whether it were beſt Debate on paſſing the *Po*.

A. D. 1515. to paſs the *Po* in Conjunction, in order to join the *Swiſs*, ſeveral Reaſons offering on each Side. Thoſe who were for paſſing the River alledged that there was no Reaſon to diſſuade them from taking Poſſeſſion of *Lodi*, and that while they were Maſters of that Poſt, it would be difficult for *Alviano* to join the *French* Army, and practicable for themſelves to join the *Swiſs*, either by advancing towards *Milan* to ſeek them out, or by the Motion of the *Swiſs* towards them; and if the *French* ſhould poſt themſelves, as it was reported to be their Deſign, or were already poſted, on the Road between *Lodi* and *Milan*, they would have at their Backs the joint Forces of their Enemies, which could not but be troubleſome and dangerous; and perhaps too it might not be difficult to find a Way, though by a greater Compaſs, to join with the *Swiſs*: That this Reſolution would be of great Service, and even neceſſary to the Enterpriſe, both for removing from the *Swiſs* all Occaſions of entering on new Treaties of Agreement, and for augmenting their Forces, of which they ſtood in Need againſt ſo great an Army, and eſpecially

Reaſons for it.

eſpecially with Horſe, of which they had none; and beſides it was no more than what was required from the Faith and Honour of the Pontiff and Catholic King, who were obliged to ſuccour the State of *Milan*, and had ſo often profeſſed the Correſpondence of their Intentions to the *Swiſs*, who finding themſelves deceived, might from true and hearty Friends become moſt bitter Enemies; and, laſtly, that the Intereſt of their own proper States required ſuch a Step, becauſe if the *Swiſs* ſhould loſe the Battle, or make an Agreement with the King of *France*, there would be no Forces left in *Italy* ſufficient to reſtrain that Prince from over-running the whole Eccleſiaſtic State to the very Gates of *Rome*. A. D. 1515.

On the other Side were offered many Reaſons, and this chiefly, that it was not to be ſuppoſed that the King had not by this time ſent Troops to take Poſſeſſion of *Lodi*, and if they ſhould find the *French* Maſters of that Place, it would be neceſſary for them to make a ſhameful Retreat, and, perhaps, not without Danger, ſince Reaſons againſt it.

A. D. 1515. they might have at the ſame time the *French* and *Venetians* either in Front or Flank, and the Bridge could not be repaſſed without Time, and without ſome Confuſion. Such a Riſque might indeed be run, if the Reward were worth the Danger; but ſuppoſing that *Lodi* ſhould be abandoned to their Poſſeſſion, of what Service could it prove for promoting the Succeſs of the Undertaking? How could it be deemed practicable, while ſo potent an Army was poſted between *Lodi* and *Milan*, either for them to go and join the *Swiſs*, or for the *Swiſs* to come and join them? Beſides, it might, perhaps, be a dangerous Step to entruſt the whole Force of the Pontiff and the Catholic King in the Hands of that raſh and unreaſonable People, a great Part of whom, they knew, had made Peace with the King of *France*, and there were great Contentions between theſe and the others who oppoſed it.

At laſt it was reſolved that the next Day both Armies ſhould with all Expedition, without any Baggage, paſs the *Po*, leaving good Garriſons in *Parma* and *Piacenza*

Piacenza for Fear of the *Venetian* Army, whoſe light Horſe had for ſeveral Days been ſcouring and plundering all over the Country. In agreeing to this Reſolution neither of the Parties, as it was then generally thought, acted with Sincerity, each thinking, by pretending a Willingneſs to paſs, to transfer the Blame on the other, without putting himſelf in Danger. For the Viceroy entertaining a Jealouſy of the Meſſage of *Cintio*, and knowing with what Cunning and Artifice the Pope proceeded in his Affairs, perſuaded himſelf that it was his Will that *Lorenzo* ſhould not proceed any further: And *Lorenzo*, conſidering how loth the Viceroy was to put his Army in the Power of Fortune, formed the ſame Judgment of others that they paſſed upon him. In the Afternoon the *Spaniſh* Troops began to paſs the Bridge, and were immediately to be followed by the Eccleſiaſtic Army; but by the Coming on of Night it being neceſſary to defer their Paſſage till the next Morning, they did not only not paſs at all, but the Viceroy returned with his Army on this Side the River, on Advice, brought by Four Hundred

A. D. 1515.

Eccleſiaſtic and *Spaniſh* Generals diſtruſtful of each other.

A. D. 1515. dred light Horſe ſent out from both Armies to obſerve the Motions of the Enemies, that an Hundred *French* Lances had entered *Lodi*, wherefore the Viceroy and *Lorenzo* returned to their firſt Quarters, while *Alviano* marched with his Army to *Lodi*.

THE King of *France* at this ſame Time removed his Camp from *Marignano* to *San Donato* three Miles from *Milan*, in which City the *Swiſs* aſſembled their whole Force, where one Party of them abhorring a War, and the other as much averſe to a Peace, frequent Conſultations were held, and many Tumults happened among them. At laſt, when they were met together in a full Aſſembly, the Cardinal of *Sion*, who was moſt ardent in his Exhortations to Perſeverance in the War, began with moſt vehement and pathetic Words to ſtimulate them to delay no longer, but march out and attack the King of *France* that ſame Day, and not ſtand ſo much in Awe of the numerous Cavalry and Artillery of the Enemy, or ſuffer themſelves to be ſo far diſturbed as to loſe

the

the Memory of the native Valour of the *Swiſs*, and the Victories obtained over the *French*. " What, ſays *Sion*, have the People of our Nation undergone all this Fatigue, expoſed themſelves to ſo many Dangers, and ſpilt ſo much Blood to loſe in one Day ſo vaſt a Stock of Glory, and leave ſo great Renown and Reputation to Enemies whom we have overthrown? Are not theſe the ſame *French* who aſſiſted by us have obtained ſo many Victories, abandoned by us have been conſtantly overcome by every Adverſary? Are not theſe the ſame *French* who but laſt Year were, by an inconſiderable Number of our Men, with ſo much Glory, defeated at *Novara*? Are they not the ſame *French* who, aſtoniſhed at our Valour, and confounded at Reflections on their own ſhameful Cowardice, have cried up to the Skies the Name of the *Swiſs*? A Name famous when we we were in Conjunction with them, but become more famous ſince we ſeparated from them! Our Troops that fought at *Novara* had neither Cavalry nor Artillery, and expected a ſpeedy Reinforcement; and yet at the Perſuaſions of *Mottino*,

A. D. 1515.

Speech of the Cardinal of *Sion* to the *Swiſs*.

A. D. 1515. *Mottino*, that illuſtrious Ornament of the *Helvetians*, they valiantly attacked the Enemy in their Trenches, boldly advanced to ſeize their Cannon, routed them, and ſlew their *German* Infantry till they had blunted their Weapons, and tired their Arms with the Slaughter. And can you think they will now have the Courage to expect the Charge of Forty Thouſand *Swiſs*, an Army ſtrong and reſolute enough to meet the Forces of the whole World united together in the Field? They will fly, believe me, at the very Report of our Coming. They have not ventured to approach ſo near *Milan* in Confidence of their own Valour, but in Hopes of your Diviſions. The Perſon or Preſence of their King will not ſupport them, for out of Fear of endangering his Life or his State he will be the firſt to conſult his own Safety, and induce the reſt to follow his Example. If you dare not attack them with this Army, that is, with the whole Strength of *Swiſſerland*, with what Forces can you ever hope to reſiſt them? For what End are we deſcended into *Lombardy*? To what Purpoſe is our Arrival at *Milan*, if

if we thought we ſhould be afraid to encounter with the Enemy? What will become of the lofty Speeches, and fierce Menaces that we have been throwing out all this Year, when we boaſted of a Deſign to make a Deſcent into *Burgundy*, and when we rejoiced at the Agreement with the King of *England*, and at the Inclination of the Pontiff to confederate with the King of *France*, as imagining that the more the Powers were which united againſt the State of *Milan*, the more Glory we ſhould acquire in defending it? It would have been better for us not to have obtained ſuch noble Victories for theſe Years paſt, and not to have driven the *French* out of *Italy*, but to have reſted ſatisfied within the Bounds of our antient Renown, rather than afterwards with one Conſent to deceive the Expectations of all the World by betraying ſuch baſe Cowardice. This Day will all Men judge whether the Victory of *Novara* were owing to our Bravery or to Fortune. If we ſhew ourſelves afraid of the Enemy, it will be univerſally aſcribed either to Chance or Temerity; if we exert the ſame Reſolution, every

A. D. 1515.

A. D. 1515. every one will confeſs that we are indebted for it only to our own Valour, and having, as no doubt we ſhall have, the ſame Succeſs, we ſhall not only be the Terror of the preſent Age, but alſo had in Veneration by Poſterity, whoſe Judgment and Praiſes will exalt the Name of the *Swiſs* above that of the *Romans*, of whom we do not read that they ſhewed ſuch Undauntedneſs, or obtained any Victory with ſo much Valour, or ever without Neceſſity choſe to fight againſt Enemies under ſuch great Diſadvantages. Of us they will find it recorded that we fought a Battle near *Novara*, where with few Troops, without Artillery, without Cavalry, we put to Flight a mighty Army, furniſhed with all Manner of Proviſions, and commanded by two famous Generals, one without Doubt the beſt in all *France*, and the other the beſt in all *Italy*. They will read alſo the Battle at *San Donato*, fought with the ſame Difficulties on our Side, againſt the King of *France* in Perſon, and againſt ſo great a Number of *German* Infantry, who, the more numerous they are, will fall the more acceptable Sacrifice to our Hatred,

make

make it ſo much the eaſier for us to ruin for ever their Military, and the more effectually deter them from raſhly pretending to rival the Arms of the *Swiſs*. It is not certain, but on the contrary, from many Difficulties appears even impoſſible, that we ſhall be joined by the Viceroy or the Troops of the Church; and therefore to what Purpoſe is it to expect them? Nor is their Preſence neceſſary; nay we ought rather to be pleaſed at ſuch a Diſappointment, for now all the Honour will be ours, and the vaſtly rich Spoils and Plunder of the Enemy's Camp will be all our own. *Mottino* would not ſuffer the Glory to be communicated even to ourſelves, much leſs to others. And ſhall we be ſo baſe-minded, and ſet ſo low a Price upon our Valour, as, even ſuppoſing it poſſible for us to join them, to be willing to wait in order to be Sharers in ſo great a Profuſion of Honours and Praiſes with Strangers? Neither the Fame of the *Swiſs*, nor the State of Affairs require any further Delay or Conſultation: It is now neceſſary that we ſhould be on our March, now, now is the Time to haſten and attack the Enemy. A. D. 1515.

A. D. 1515. Enemy. Let Cowards conſult, who think not of encountering with Dangers, but of ſecuring themſelves by Flight; but it is the Part of a fierce and warlike Nation, ſuch as ours, to preſent themſelves before their Enemies as ſoon as they can get a Sight of them. Go to, then, with the Help of God, who with juſt Hatred purſues the Pride of the *French*, with your uſual Animoſity take your Pikes, and beat your Drums, and let us march without loſing a Moment, and haſten to try the utmoſt Force of our Weapons, and ſatiate our Hatred with the Blood of thoſe whoſe Pride renders them a Nuiſance, and their Cowardice a Prey to all Mankind."

INCITED by this Speech the *Swiſs* immediately took their Arms in a Fury, and as ſoon as they were got out at the *Roman* Gate drew up in Order, and tho' there remained not much of Daylight ſet forwards on their March towards the *French* with ſo much Alacrity, and ſuch Shouting, that one who knew no better would have taken it for certain that they had

had already obtained ſome very notable Victory. The Officers ſtimulated the Soldiers to quicken their March, and the Soldiers deſired their Officers not to forget to give the Signal of Battle as ſoon as ever they were approached to the Camp of the Enemy; for they were determined to ſtrew the Field with Carcaſes, and intended that Day to extinguiſh the very Name of the *German* Infantry; and eſpecially of thoſe Troops which prognoſticating their own Death carried by way of Diſtinction black Enſigns. In this fierce and reſolute Diſpoſition they approached the *French* Camp, and but two Hours before Night began the Battle. They attacked the Artillery and Entrenchments with ſuch Fury and Violence, that they entered the Trenches almoſt as ſoon as they arrived, and broke and diſperſed the firſt Battalions that oppoſed them, and made themſelves Maſters of Part of the Artillery. But the *French* Cavalry advancing, and a great Part of the Army, with the King himſelf, ſurrounded by a valiant Squadron of Gentlemen, the Ardor of their Fury was in ſome meaſure re-

A. D. 1515.

Battle of *Marignano*.

A. D. 1515. preſſed, and there began a very terrible Battle, attended with various Events, but very deſtructive to the *French* Men at Arms, who were forced to give Way. This Fight laſted till four Hours after Night, in which ſome of the *French* general Officers were killed on the Spot, and the King himſelf received many Thruſts of Pikes. By this Time both Parties were ſo tired that they could no longer hold their Weapons in their Hands, and ſeparated from one another without Beat of Drum, or Orders from their Officers, the *Swiſs* betaking themſelves to their Reſt in the Field of Battle, and neither Party moleſting the other, but expecting, as it were by a tacit Truce, the next Daylight. But the firſt Attack proving ſo ſucceſsful to the *Swiſs*, for whom by the Care of the Cardinal a Convoy of Proviſions and Refreſhments from *Milan* arrived while they were taking their Repoſe, Expreſſes were diſpatched to all Parts of *Italy* with Advices that the *Swiſs* had put the Army of their Enemies to Flight. The King was not idle during the Remainder of the Night, but being ſenſible

ſenſible of the Greatneſs of the Danger took care to draw off his Artillery into proper Places and in due Order, and employed himſelf in ranging his *German* and *Gaſcon* Infantry in juſt Battalions, and his Cavalry in Squadrons. When Day-light appeared the *Swiſs*, deſpiſing not only the *French* Army but all the Forces of *Italy* united together, renewed their Attack with the ſame Rage and Impetuoſity, and with great Temerity. They were valiantly received by their Enemies, but with more Policy, and in better Order, for on one Side they were galled by the Cannon, on the other by the Arrows of the *Gaſcons*, and at the ſame time charged by the Horſe, ſo that they ſuffered in Front and on both Flanks. And at Sunriſe, when the Fight was cloſeſt and fierceſt, and Circumſtances reduced to an Extremity of Labour and Danger, *Alviano*, who, on the Arrival of an Expreſs from the King over Night, had immediately put himſelf in Motion with the light Horſe and the moſt expeditious Part of his Army, the reſt following Body after Body, arrived on a ſudden, and fell with A. D. 1515.

A. D. 1515. great Fury on the Rear of the *Swiſs*, who, tho' they ſtill maintained the Fight with the greateſt Boldneſs and Valour, yet finding ſo vigorous a Reſiſtance, and from the Arrival of the *Venetian* Army deſpairing of the Victory, ſeveral Hours after Sunriſe ſounded a Retreat, and putting their Shoulders to the Artillery which they had brought with them, turned their Battalions, and conſtantly keeping their uſual Order marched with a ſlow Pace towards *Milan*, to the great Aſtoniſhment of the *French*, of whom not a Man in all the Army, either among their Foot or Horſe, durſt venture to purſue them; only two of their Companies, who had fled into a Country Seat, were burnt in it by the *Venetian* light Horſe. The reſt of their Army retired in perfect Order, and retaining the ſame Fierceneſs in their Countenances, and in their Eyes, returned to *Milan*, leaving behind them in the Ditches, as ſome ſay, fifteen Pieces of heavy Cannon, which they had taken from the *French* in the firſt Attack, for Want of Conveniences to bring them along.

Swiſs defeated.

A. D. 1515.

IT is univerſally agreed that a fiercer and more terrible Battle had not been fought in *Italy* for very many Years; for by the Fury with which the *Swiſs* began the Attack, and afterwards by the Miſtakes through the Darkneſs of the Night, the Arrangement of the whole Army being diſordered, and the Combatants mingling in Confuſion without Command or Signal, every Event was left entirely to the Diſpoſal of Fortune. The King himſelf was often in Danger, and was more indebted for his Preſervation to his own proper Valour, and to Chance, than to the Aſſiſtance of his Attendants, by whom he was frequently in the Confuſion of the Battle, and the Darkneſs of the Night, abandoned. Hence *Trivulzio*, a General who had ſeen ſo many Events, proteſted that this was a Battle not of Men but of Giants, and that of Eighteen Battles in which he had been preſent, every one of them, in Compariſon of this, was but a Battle of little Children. And it is not doubted that, had it not been for the Aſſiſtance of the Artillery, the Victory

Saying of *Trivulzio* on the Battle.

A. D. 1515. would have been gained by the *Swiſs*, who having entered the *French* Entrenchments at the firſt Attack, and afterwards made themſelves Maſters of moſt Part of their Artillery, had always gained Ground. Beſides, the Coming of *Alviano* was of no ſmall Importance, ſince his Arrival at a Time while the Victory was yet dubious put Spirits in the *French*, and Terror in the *Swiſs*, who imagined that he had brought with him the whole *Venetian* Army.

Number of Killed. THE Number of the Dead, if ever it were uncertain in any Battle, as it is almoſt in all, was very uncertain in this, People varying in their Accounts, ſome out of Paſſion, others through Ignorance. Some make the Loſs of the *Swiſs* amount to above Fourteen Thouſand, others will have it but Ten Thouſand, others again more moderate make it but Eight Thouſand, and there are not wanting ſome who reduce it ſo low as Three Thouſand, all of the vulgar Sort, and of Names obſcure. But of the *French* were killed in the Battle of the Night *Francis* Brother

to

to the Duke of *Bourbon*, *Imbercourt*, *Sancerre*, the Prince of *Tallemont* Son to *Tremouille*, *Boyſi* Nephew to the late Cardinal of *Rouen*, Count *Saſſart*, *Chatelarth* of *Savoy*, *Buſſi d' Amboyſe*, and *Mouy*, Enſign of the King's Gens d' Arms, Perſons all diſtinguiſhed by their Nobility and great Eſtates, or for their honourable Poſts in the Army. The Number of the Killed is for the Reaſons before aſſigned variouſly reckoned, ſome making it Six Thouſand, others reducing it to Three Thouſand, among whom were ſome Officers of the *German* Infantry. A. D. 1515.

AFTER the *Swiſs* were retired to *Milan* they fell into very great Diſagreement whether it were beſt to enter into a Convention with the King of *France*, or ſtay there for the Defence of the City. Thoſe Officers who had before ſollicited an Agreement, being willing to alledge ſome leſs diſhonourable Reaſon for their Departure, demanded their Pay of *Maſſimiliano Sforza*, who, it was very manifeſt, had no Money to ſpare; and the next Day afterwards all the *Swiſs* Troops, at

A. D. 1515. the Perſuaſions of *Roſt* their Captain General, ſet out on their March homewards by the Way of *Como*, giving Hopes to the Duke that they would ſoon return to the Relief of the Caſtle, in which was left a Garriſon of Fifteen Hundred *Swiſs* and Five Hundred *Italian* Foot. With theſe Hopes *Maſſimiliano Sforza*, accompanied by *Giovanni da Gonzaga*, and *Girolamo Morone*, with ſome other *Milaneſe* Noblemen, betook himſelf to the Caſtle, after giving his Conſent, tho' not without Difficulty, that *Franceſco* Duke of *Bari*, his Brother, might retire into *Germany*, while the Cardinal of *Sion* went to wait upon *Cæſar* to ſollicit Succours, promiſing to return within a few Days. The City of *Milan* being thus left without any Garriſon ſurrendered to the King of *France*, and agreed to pay a very large Sum of Money *; but he refuſed to enter the Place while the Caſtle was in the Hands of the Enemy, as if it were unworthy of a King to make his Entry into a Town that was not wholly at his Devotion. In the mean time he ordered

Swiſs return home

City of Milan ſurrenders to the French.

* 300,000 Crowns at three Payments. *Giovio.*

ordered ſolemn Maſſes to be celebrated for three Days ſucceſſively in the Place where he had obtained the Victory; the firſt to return Thanks to God for his Succeſs, the Second to pray for the Souls of thoſe that were killed in the Battle, and the laſt to beſeech God to grant a Peace; and on the ſame Spot he cauſed a Chapel to be erected for a perpetual Memorial. All the Towns and Fortreſſes of the Dutchy of *Milan* followed the Fortune of the Victory, except the Caſtles of *Cremona* and *Milan*, the Siege of which laſt was committed to the Direction of *Pietro Navarra*, who, to the Admiration of all Men, tho' the Caſtle was very ſtrong, abundantly ſupplied with all Neceſſaries for its Defence, and had a Garriſon of Two Thouſand good Soldiers, engaged to reduce it within a Month. A. D. 1515.

THE Viceroy, on the News of the Victory of the *French*, ſtayed a few Days in his old Quarters, more out of Neceſſity than Choice, becauſe it was difficult for him to put his Army in Motion without Money. At length, receiving a certain Quantity,

A. D. 1515. Quantity, and borrowing Six Thouſand Ducats of *Lorenzo de' Medici*, he decamped, and retired to *Pontenuro*, with an Intention to march for the Kingdom of *Naples*. For though the Pontiff, on Advice of the unfortunate Event, had at firſt made the Public believe that he intended to imitate the Conſtancy of his Predeceſſor, the Ambaſſadors of the Allies encouraging him to reſolve on ſhewing his Face to Fortune, and endeavour by all means to keep the *Swiſs* in a good Diſpoſition, or if they proved inconſtant to ſupply their Places with hired *German* Infantry, yet on a ſerious Review it appeared to him that no Proviſions for his Safety could be made with that Speed which his Danger required, and that the firſt Blow was likely to fall upon himſelf. For though the Reverence of the Church might induce the King of *France* to abſtain from moleſting the Eccleſiaſtic State, yet he did not believe it ſufficient to reſtrain him from attacking *Parma* and *Piacenza* as Members of the Dutchy of *Milan*, or from moleſting the State of *Florence*, in which Affair all Regard ceaſed, and yet the Pope would think

Pope under Apprehenſions from the *French*

think himſelf as much injured as if an Attack had been made upon the State of the Church. Nor indeed were his Apprehenſions groundleſs, for the King had ordered a Bridge to be laid over the *Po* near *Pavia* for paſſing Troops to take Poſſeſſion of *Parma* and *Piacenza*, and after the Acquiſition of theſe Cities, if the Pope ſtill continued averſe to embrace the King's Friendſhip, the Forces were intended to proceed by the Way of *Pontremoli* to *Tuſcany*, and attempt to drive the *Medici* out of *Florence*. *A. D.* 1515.

BUT by this Time the Pope had given Commiſſion to the Duke of *Savoy*, and the Biſhop of *Tricarico*, his Nuncio, to enter into a Treaty with the King of *France*, who being ſtill ſuſpicious of new Confederacies againſt him, and inclined to the Reverence of the Apoſtolic See by the Terror which the Perſecutions of *Julius* had excited in the whole Kingdom of *France*, was very deſirous of an Agreement. A Confederacy therefore was ſoon concluded between them for the Defence of the States of *Italy*; and particularly it was ſtipulated that the King

Pope enters into an Alliance with the King of *France*.

A. D. 1515. King ſhould take into his Protection the Perſon of the Pontiff, the State of the Church, *Giuliano*, *Lorenzo de' Medici*, and the State of *Florence*; ſhould grant a Lordſhip in *France* and a Penſion to *Giuliano* and to *Lorenzo*, with the Command of fifty Lances; and conſent that the Pontiff ſhould grant free Paſſage through the State of the Church to the Viceroy on his Return with his Army into the Kingdom of *Naples*: That the Pope ſhould be obliged to recall his Troops from *Verona*, and from the Aſſiſtance of *Cæſar* againſt the *Venetians*; that he ſhould reſtore to the King the Cities of *Parma* and *Piacenza*, in Compenſation of which the Dutchy of *Milan* ſhould be bound to take all its Salt from *Cervia*, which was computed to be very beneficial to the Church, and had lately been ſtipulated by the Pope in his Confederacy with the Duke of *Milan*: That it ſhould be referred to the Arbitration of the Duke of *Savoy* whether the *Florentines* had violated the Confederacy made with King *Lewis*, and in Caſe of any Violation the Duke was to declare the Penalty. This Article the King ſaid he

inſiſted

insisted on more for the Sake of his Honour than for any other Reason. *A. D.* 1515.

THE Treaty being concluded *Tricarico* immediately set out Post for *Rome*, to persuade the Pontiff to ratify it: And *Lorenzo*, that he might the sooner be rid of the Viceroy, withdrew the Troops he had in *Piacenza* to *Parma* and *Reggio*, and he himself waited on the King, to recommend himself to his Favour, and to persuade him, according to the artful Instructions of his Uncle, that he desired in all Events to depend only on his royal Protection.

THE Pope was not without Difficulty induced to ratify the Peace, for it grieved him very much to part with *Parma* and *Piacenza*, and he would willingly have waited till he had first known the Resolution of the *Swiss*. The Diet of that Nation was assembled at *Zurich*, the principal of all the *Helvetic* Cantons, and the greatest Enemy to the *French*, where they treated about succouring the Castle of *Milan*; though they had abandoned the Valleys and the Towns of *Bellinzone* and *Lugarna*,

A. D. 1515. *Lugarna*, but not the Caſtles, yet the King, on the Payment of Six Thouſand Crowns to the Governor, had gotten Poſſeſſion of the Caſtle of *Lugarna*; but the *Griſons* had not as yet abandoned *Chiavenna*. *Tricarico*, however, at laſt repreſenting to his Holineſs that it was to be feared the King would without Delay attack *Parma* and *Piacenza*, and ſend Troops into *Tuſcany*, and magnifying the Loſs of the *Swiſs* in the Battle, he was content to ratify, but with theſe Qualifications and Reſtrictions: That neither he himſelf nor his Agents for him ſhould be bound to make a formal Ceſſion of *Parma* and *Piacenza*, but only leave them evacuated of his Troops and civil Officers for the King to take Poſſeſſion of them; that the Pontiff ſhould not be bound to withdraw his Troops from *Verona*, becauſe he was not willing to do ſuch an Injury to *Cæſar*, but he ſecretly promiſed to recall them on the firſt convenient Opportunity; and that the *Florentines* ſhould be abſolved from any pretended Contravention of the League. In this Agreement it was alſo provided that the King ſhould not take

Pope ratifies the Peace with Reſtrictions.

under

under his Protection any Feudatary or Subject of the State of the Church, and should not only not obſtruct the Pope, as their ſupreme Lord, in proceeding againſt them, and chaſtiſing them, but ſhould alſo be obliged, when ſollicited, to aſſiſt him for that Purpoſe. Mention was alſo made of an Interview between the Pope and the King in ſome convenient Place; which was propoſed by *Francis*, but deſired by both Parties; by the King, for the better Eſtabliſhment of this newly contracted Friendſhip, for ſecuring the States of his Friends in *Italy*, and becauſe he was in Hopes by his Preſence, and by his Offers of large Eſtates to the Pontiff's Brother and Nephew, to obtain his Conſent for attacking, as he moſt ardently deſired, the Kingdom of *Naples*; by the Pope, with a View, by this officious Condeſcenſion, to entertain the King, while he was in his Proſperity, after his engaging Manner, by which he was moſt excellently qualified for winning upon the Hearts of Men. Many, however, condemned ſuch a Reſolution as unworthy of the Majeſty of the Pontificate, judging it more

A. D. 1515.

A. D. 1515. more proper for the King, if he wanted ſuch an Interview, to come and ſeek it of the Pope at *Rome*. But his Holineſs alledged in Excuſe that he condeſcended in this Manner from a Deſire to induce the King to forbear moleſting the Kingdom of *Naples* during the Life of the Catholic King, which, on account of an Indiſpoſition of Body, under which he had laboured above a Year, it was thought, could not be long.

Caſtle of *Milan* beſieged.

IN the mean time *Pietro Navarra* was buſily employed in beſieging the Caſtle of *Milan*, and having made himſelf Maſter of a Caſemate in the Ditch of the Caſtle on the Flank towards the Gate of *Como*, and with Engines for Battery and Fences of Beams*, made his Approaches to the Ditch and to the Wall of the Caſtle, he worked at a Mine in that Place, and having ruined the Defences, he ſet about ſeveral other Mines, and with large Chiſſels cut off a great Piece of the Wall on the Flank of the

* Orig. *Gatti e Travate*, the firſt a warlike Inſtrument with ſeveral Claws or Prongs for looſening and pulling out the Stones of the Wall, the other a Defence for covering the Workmen.

the Caſtle, which he ſupported with Props, in order to make it fall at the ſame Time that he ſet Fire to the Mines. But tho' theſe Contrivances were not, in the Opinion of many, ſufficient to reduce the Place without much Time and Difficulty, and certain Advice was received that the *Swiſs*, according to the Reſolution taken in the Diet of *Zurich*, were preparing to relieve it, yet by virtue of a Treaty commenced between *Giovanni da Gonzaga*, a General of the Duke of *Milan*, who was in the Caſtle, and the Duke of *Bourbon* his Kinſman, and afterwards carried on with the Duke of *Bourbon* by *Girolamo Morone* in concert with two *Swiſs* Officers in the Caſtle, to the great Surpriſe of all the World, a Capitulation was concluded on the fourth of *October*. *Girolamo Morone* was highly blamed on this Occaſion for having, either out of too much Timidity, or too little Faithfulneſs, perſuaded the Duke, with whom he had a very great Authority, to this Agreement; but he excuſed himſelf on account of a Quarrel that broke out between the *Swiſs* and *Italian* Infantry in Garriſon.

A. D. 1515.

Surrendered.

A. D. 1515.

Articles of the Capitulation.

BY the Conditions of this Capitulation *Maſſimiliano Sforza* was immediately to deliver up to the King of *France* the Caſtles of *Milan* and *Cremona*, and to make over to him all the Rights which he had to the State of *Milan*: On this Conſideration it was agreed that he ſhould receive of the King a certain Sum of Money to diſcharge his Debts, and might retire into *France*, where the King was to allow him a yearly Penſion of Thirty Thouſand Ducats, or uſe his Intereſt that he ſhould be created a Cardinal with the like Revenue: That the King ſhould pardon *Galeazzo Viſconti* and certain other Noblemen of the Dutchy of *Milan* who had been zealous in the Intereſt of *Maſſimiliano*: That he ſhould give the *Swiſs* who were in the Caſtle Six Thouſand Crowns: That he ſhould confirm to *Giovanni da Gonzaga* thoſe Eſtates which the Duke had given to him in the *Milaneſe*, and ſettle a Penſion on him; and ſhould alſo confirm to *Morone* his patrimonial Eſtates, and thoſe which were beſtowed on him by the Duke, with the Offices that

that he held, and ſhould conſtitute him Maſter of Requeſts of the Court of *France*. On this Agreement *Maſſimiliano*, otherwiſe *Moro* after his Father's Name, came out of the Caſtle, and ſet out directly for *France*, ſaying at his Departure that he was delivered from the Bondage of the *Swiſs*, the Abuſes of *Cæſar*, and the Cheats of the *Spaniards*. Every one however praiſed Fortune more for her Juſtice in ſpeedily depoſing from ſo high a Station; than for her Blindneſs in exalting to it, a Man who, from his Want of Capacity, the Extravagance of his Sentiments, and the extreme Sordidneſs of his Manners, was unworthy of any Poſt of Honour or Greatneſs.

A. D. 1515.

BUT before the Caſtle of *Milan* was ſurrendered came Ambaſſadors to the King *Antonio Grimano*, *Domenico Trivi-ſano*, *Antonio Cornaro*, and *Andrea Gritti*, four of the principal and moſt honourable Members of the *Venetian* Senate, to congratulate him on his Victory, and to requeſt his Aſſiſtance, to which he was bound by the Articles of the Confederacy,

Venetian Embaſſy to the King of *France*.

A. D. 1515. in the Recovery of their Towns: An Enterpriſe which had no other Obſtruction but from the Forces of *Cæſar*, and thoſe auxiliary Troops of the Pope which were with *Marc' Antonio Colonna* in *Verona*; for the Viceroy, after leaving the Territory of *Piacenza*, and then halting ſome time in the *Modeneſe*, to ſee whether the Pope would ratify the Agreement he had made with the King of *France*, as ſoon as he was certified of the Ratification, proceeded on his March through *Romagna* for *Naples*.

THE King readily ordered to the Aſſiſtance of the *Venetians* the Baſtard of *Savoy* and *Teodoro da Trivulzio*, with Seven Hundred Lances and Seven Thouſand Foot; but while they delayed their March, either in Expectation of the Succeſs of the Enterpriſe on the Caſtle of *Milan*, or becauſe the King deſigned theſe ſame Troops for the Siege of the Caſtle of *Cremona*, *Alviano*, who was not permitted by the *Venetians* to follow the Viceroy, becauſe they were deſirous to recover, if it were poſſible, *Breſcia* and *Verona*

Verona without the Aſſiſtance of others, marched with the Army towards *Breſcia*. But the Garriſon being juſt before reinforced with One Thouſand *German* Foot, *Bergamo* having ſeveral Days before ſurrendered to the *Venetians*, he reſolved to march firſt and lay Siege to *Verona*, as not ſo well fortified, and for the greater Conveniency of Proviſions, and becauſe if *Verona* were taken, *Breſcia* remaining alone, and difficult, on account of its Situation, to be ſuccoured from *Germany*, would fall an eaſy Conqueſt. But this Undertaking was retarded from an Apprehenſion that the Viceroy and the Troops of the Pope, which were in the Territories of *Reggio* and *Modena*, would paſs the *Po* at *Oſtia* in order to relieve *Verona*; all Fears of which now vaniſhing at the Departure of the Viceroy, a new Obſtacle aroſe from the Sickneſs of *Alviano*, who was taken ill at *Ghedi* in the *Breſcian*, and departed this Life in the Beginning of *October* under Sixty Years of Age, mightily regretted by the *Venetians*, but much more by his Soldiers, who, not knowing how to ſatisfy themſelves with his Re-

A. D. 1515.

Death and Character of *Alviano*.

A. D. 1515. membrance, kept his Body twenty-five Days in the Army, carrying it about with them wherever they marched with extraordinary Pomp; and when it was afterwards to be conveyed to *Venice*, *Teodoro Trivulzio* would not ſuffer a Paſs to be demanded, as many had propoſed, of *Marc' Antonio Colonna* for its free Paſſage through the *Veroneſe*, ſaying, it was not fit that a Man who was never afraid of Enemies in his Lifetime ſhould give any Sign that he feared them after his Death. He was interred by public Decree with extraordinary Marks of Honour in *St. Stephen*'s Church at *Venice*, where his Monument is ſtill to be ſeen, and the funeral Oration was made by *Andrea Navagiero*, a young *Venetian* Nobleman of great Eloquence. *Alviano* was by every one acknowledged to be a General of vaſt Boldneſs and Courage, and one who executed his Reſolutions with the utmoſt Expedition; but, either through the Malice of Fortune, or, as many were of Opinion, becauſe he was raſh and precipitous in taking his Meaſures, was frequently defeated by his Enemies, and perhaps, what

is

is more, where he was Commander in chief never obtained a Victory. *A. D.* 1515.

ON the Death of *Alviano* the King, at the Requeſt of the *Venetians*, granted Leave to *Trivulzio* to take upon him the Command of their Army. They deſired him for their General on account of his Skill and Reputation in military Diſcipline, and becauſe, from their common Inclination to the Faction of the *Guelfs*, there had been always a good Correſpondence and mutual Benevolence maintained between him and that Republic. While the new General was proceeding to the Army the Troops of the *Venetians* took *Peſchiera*, after they had firſt routed Three Hundred *Spaniſh* Foot, and ſome Horſe that were coming to relieve it; they next recovered *Aſola* and *Lona*, which were abandoned by the Marquis of *Mantoua*. *Trivulzio* General of the *Venetians*.

ON the Arrival of *Trivulzio* the Army, at the Inſtances of the Senate, laid Siege to *Breſcia*, tho' it appeared to him very difficult to be taken without the Aſſiſtance of the *French*, for the Town was ſtrong,

A. D. 1515. and had Two Thouſand *German* and *Spaniſh* Foot in Garriſon, a very conſiderable Number of the *Guelfs* had been forced to leave the Place, the Winter was juſt at Hand, and the Seaſon ſeemed much diſpoſed to Rains. The General was not deceived in his Judgment of the Event of the Undertaking; for after they had begun to play on the Walls from a Battery planted on the Ditch at the Side whence the Rivulet *Garzetta* takes its Courſe, the Garriſon, which made frequent Sallies, took once an Opportunity to march out to the Number of Fifteen Hundred *German* and *Spaniſh* Foot in order to attack the Guard of the Artillery, for which Service were appointed One Hundred Men at Arms, and Six Thouſand Foot, and charged them ſo vigorouſly, while others of the Beſieged, who were diſpoſed along the Walls for that Purpoſe, with their ſmall Arms kept a continual Fire, that they eaſily put them to Flight, tho' *Gian Pagolo Manfrone* with Thirty Men at Arms for ſome time ſuſtained their Fury. They killed about Two Hundred Foot, ſet Fire to the Powder, and brought off

Breſcia beſieged by the Venetians.

Ten

Ten Pieces of Cannon into *Breſcia*. On this Diſaſter *Trivulzio* thought fit to remove the Army to a greater Diſtance from the Town, in Expectation of the *French*, and retired to *Coccai* twelve Miles from that City, the *Venetians* in the mean time taking care to provide a new Supply of Cannon and Ammunition. When the *French* had joined them they returned to the Siege, and erected Batteries in two different Places, one on the Side of the Gate of the *Pile* towards the Caſtle, and the other on the Side of the Gate of *San Giovanni*. In one of theſe Poſts lay encamped the *French* Army, which, on the Diſmiſſion of the *Germans* becauſe they would not fight againſt a Town in the Poſſeſſion of *Cæſar*, was reinforced with Five Thouſand *Gaſcon* and *French* Foot under *Pietro Navarra*. The other was poſſeſſed by the *Venetians* commanded by *Trivulzio*, on whom lay the whole Care and Burden of the War, for the Baſtard of *Savoy* was taken ill, and had left the Army. A Breach was made, but the Aſſault was not given becauſe the Beſieged had drawn Trenches, and caſt up Ramparts, A. D. 1515.

A. D. 1515. parts, and with vaſt Diligence and Reſolution provided every Thing neceſſary for their Defence. *Pietro Navarra* therefore had recourſe to his uſual Remedy, and ſet about conſtructing of Mines, and at the ſame time cutting the Wall with Pick-axes.

Action of *M. Antonio Colonna.* At this Time *Marc' Antonio Colonna* marched out of *Verona* with Six Hundred Horſe, and Five Hundred Foot, and meeting on the Plains with *Gian Pagolo Manfrone* and *Mercurio Bua*, who with Four Hundred Men at Arms and Four Hundred light Horſe were appointed to garriſon *Valeggio*, he charged and broke them, in which Encounter *Giulio* Son of *Gian Pagolo*, his Horſe being killed under him while he was fighting, was taken Priſoner, and his Father fled to *Goito*; the victorious Party afterwards took Poſſeſſion of *Lignago*, where they made ſome *Venetian* Noblemen Priſoners.

But at *Breſcia* the Siege appeared more and more difficult and incommodious, for the Mines prepared by *Pietro Navarra*

Navarra did not ſucceed according to the Expectations he had given, and Intelligence being received that Eight Thouſand Foot were on their March from *Germany* to ſuccour the Place, which the Generals before *Breſcia* could not warrant from taking Effect, it it was at laſt agreed by the *Venetians*, to cover in ſome Meaſure the Shame of a Retreat, that the Garriſon, if not relieved within thirty Days, ſhould deliver up the City, and the *Venetians* promiſed that they ſhould have Liberty to march out with Colours flying, with the Artillery and all their Effects. This Engagement every one knew to be of no Signification, ſo well were they aſſured of Succours; but it was of ſome Service to the People in *Breſcia*, by freeing them in the mean time from Moleſtations. The *Venetians* after this ſent Eight Thouſand Foot to *Bre*, a Caſtle belonging to the Counts of *Lodrone*; but as ſoon as theſe Troops perceived the *German* Foot, who had taken Poſſeſſion of the Caſtle of *Anfo* by Surrendry, advancing forwards, they cowardly retreated to the Army. Nor were there to be found greater Marks of Reſolution

A. D. 1515.

A. D. 1515. Reſolution in the Generals, who, under terrible Apprehenſions of being at the ſame time attacked by the Troops from *Germany*, by thoſe in *Breſcia*, and by *Marc' Antonio* with the Garriſon of *Verona*, retired to *Ghedi*, whither they had before, for fear of ſuch a Diſaſter, ſent their heavy Artillery, and almoſt all their Baggage. Thus the *Germans* entered *Breſcia* without Oppoſition, and as ſoon as they had ſupplied the Place with Proviſions, and increaſed the Garriſon, returned to *Germany*.

Breſcia relieved.

In the mean time the Pope and the King of *France* had agreed on an Interview at *Bologna*, the King chuſing that Place rather than *Florence*, becauſe he would not be at ſo great a Diſtance from the Dutchy of *Milan*, eſpecially ſince he was continually treating, by the Mediation of the Duke of *Savoy*, of an Accommodation with the *Swiſs*, and becauſe, as he ſaid, it would have been neceſſary, if he paſſed into *Tuſcany*, to lead with him a great Train of Soldiers, ſince it would not be ſuitable to his Honour to enter *Florence* with leſs Pomp than King *Charles*

Charles had done before him, and the Preparations for ſuch a Solemnity would have cauſed a Delay of ſome Days, which would have been very diſagreeable to the King, as well in other Reſpects, as becauſe he would have been neceſſitated to keep on Foot his whole Army, no Part of which, though it was very expenſive, he had as yet diſbanded, nor intended to diſband while he ſtayed in *Italy*. The Pontiff then entered *Bologna* the Eighth Day of *December*, and two Days after the King made his Entry, having been received on the Borders of the *Reggian* by two Apoſtolic Legates, the Cardinals of *Fieſco* and *de' Medici*. He was attended by no Men at Arms, nor by any great Retinue, and being introduced, according to Cuſtom, into the public Conſiſtory before the Pontiff, he himſelf in Perſon, the Grand Chancellor making a Speech in his Name, offered him his Obedience, which he had not paid before. After this they held Communication for three Days together, being lodged in the ſame Palace, and ſhewing one towards another extraordinary Marks of mutual Benevolence and Affection,

A. D. 1515.

Interview between the Pope and the King of *France*.

A. D. 1515. fection. On this Occaſion, beſides confirming anew both by Words and Promiſes the Obligations formerly contracted, they had long Conferences about the Affairs of the Kingdom of *Naples*, which the King not being provided to attack at that Time, contented himſelf with the warm and hearty Aſſurances given him by the Pontiff of his favouring that Enterpriſe whenever they ſhould hear of the Death of the King of *Aragon*, which in common Opinion could not be far off, or elſe as ſoon as his Confederacy with that Prince, which would terminate in ſixteen Months, ſhould expire. The King interceded alſo for the Reſtitution of *Modena* and *Reggio* to the Duke of *Ferrara*, which the Pope promiſed to reſtore on the Duke's reimburſing him the Forty Thouſand Ducats which he had paid to *Cæſar* for *Modena*, beſides a certain Sum of Money in Recompence for what he had expended on thoſe Cities. The King interpoſed alſo his Mediation in Favour of *Franceſco Maria* Duke of *Urbino*. This Duke had the Command of Two Hundred Men at Arms in the Service of the Church, and was appointed to attend

Giuliano

Giuliano de' Medici to the Army. But *Giuliano* falling ſick, and *Lorenzo* conſtituted General in his Stead, the Duke not only refuſed to go, alledging that though, for the Sake of his old Friendſhip with *Giuliano*, he had, contrary to his Dignity, conſented to attend him as a ſimple Officer, and ſubject to the Command of others, in the Army of the Church, of which he had been ſo often Captain General, and ſuperior to all, he would not yield the ſame Submiſſion to *Lorenzo*, but beſides, after he had promiſed to ſend the Troops that were under his Command, recalled them when they were upon their March. For it ſeems he had juſt before ſecretly agreed, or was then treating of an Agreement, with the King of *France*, and after the Victory of the King never ceaſed, by means of proper Perſons, to incenſe him, as much as he could, againſt the Pontiff. His Holineſs, mindful of theſe Injuries, and having before projected to transfer that Dutchy to his own Family, denied the King's Requeſt, repreſenting to him, in the mildeſt Expreſſions, how difficult it would be with regard to the Affairs of the Church

A. D. 1515.

A. D. 1515. Church to grant his Demand, and how pernicious an Example it muſt prove for encouraging Subjects to rebel againſt their Sovereigns. The King patiently ſubmitted to the Reaſons and Will of the Pontiff, though he had deſired, for his own Honour, to preſerve the Duke, who was fallen into Danger for his Adherence to him; and he was adviſed alſo to take him under his Protection by many of his Council and Court, who repreſented how unpolitic a Reſolution it had been in the late King to permit *Valentino* to oppreſs the petty Sovereigns of *Italy*, by which he roſe to ſuch Grandeur, that, if his Father *Alexander* had lived much longer, he would without Doubt have done much Miſchief to his Affairs. The Pope promiſed the King to grant him Power to levy, for one Year, the Tenth Part of the Eccleſiaſtic Revenues in the Kingdom of *France*. It was agreed alſo that the King ſhould have the Nomination of Benefices, which before belonged to the Colleges and Chapters of Churches; an Ordinance of great Advantage to the Kings of *France*, who by that Means had the Diſpoſal of

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ſo many vaſtly rich Benefices; and on the other Side his Majeſty conſented that the Annates of the Churches of *France* ſhould be paid to the Pontiff according to the true Value, and not according to the antient Rates, which were much leſs. But in this Article the Pope found himſelf deceived, for when he deſigned to proſecute thoſe who concealed the true Value, and had deputed Commiſſaries in the Kingdom of *France* for that Purpoſe, no Documents were to be had, nor Proſecutions obtained againſt the Incumbents, ſo that every one continued to pay according to the old Rates. The King alſo promiſed not to take under his Protection any of the Cities of *Tuſcany*; but not long after, on ſolliciting the Pope's Conſent for receiving into his Protection the *Luccheſe*, who had offered him Twenty-five Thouſand Ducats, alledging that he was bound to it by the Obligations of his Predeceſſor, his Holineſs refuſed to grant it, though he promiſed to give no manner of Moleſtation to that People. They reſolved alſo to ſend *Egidio*, General of the *Auguſtin* Friars, and a moſt excellent Preacher, to the A. D. 1515.

A. D. 1515. Emperor in the Name of the Pope, in order to diſpoſe him to reſtore *Breſcia* and *Verona* to the *Venetians*, and to accept of a Recompenſe in Money. Theſe Affairs being diſpatched, though nothing was put in Writing except the Articles relating to the Nomination to Benefices, and the Payment of the Annates according to the true Value, the Pope, to oblige the King, declared Cardinal *Adrian de Boiſi*, Brother to the Grand Maſter of *France*, and Prime Miniſter. The King afterwards departed highly ſatisfied with this Conference, and in great Hopes of the Good-will of the Pontiff, who ſhewed all the outward Marks of mutual Satisfaction, but his inward Sentiments were very different, for he was ſtill grieved as before that the King ſhould be in Poſſeſſion of the Dutchy of *Milan*, and he was extremely chagrined at his being obliged to relinquiſh *Piacenza* and *Parma*, and no leſs at the Reſtitution of *Modena* and *Reggio* to the Duke of *Ferrara*, though the Performance of this laſt Article was not long after eluded. For the Pope, while he was in *Florence*, where he ſtaid a Month after his Departure from *Bologna*,

Bologna, being promiſed the Money which the Duke was to pay as ſoon as he ſhould be put in Poſſeſſion of the ſaid Cities, and Writings being drawn between them for that Effect by common Conſent, would not plainly deny to fulfil the Agreement, but by interpoſing various Excuſes and Delays, and always promiſing fairly, could never be brought to have it put in Execution. *A. D.* 1515.

THE King, after his Return to *Milan*, immediately diſbanded his Army, retaining only, for the Defence of that State, Seven Hundred Lances, Six Thouſand *German* Foot, and Four Thouſand *French*, of that Kind of Soldiery, which they call Volunteers; and in the Beginning of the Year 1516 he returned with the utmoſt Expedition into *France*, leaving as his Lieutenant *Charles* Duke of *Bourbon*. He now imagined his Affairs in *Italy* on a good Footing by the Confederacy he had contracted with the Pope, becauſe he had much about the ſame time made a Convention with the *Swiſs*, who, tho' ſtimulated by the King of *England* to take the 1516.

A. D. 1516. Field afreſh againſt him, renewed the Confederacy, obliging themſelves at all Times to furniſh him, in the Name and with the Enſigns of the Public, with any Number of Foot he ſhould demand to take into his Pay, to ſerve either in *Italy* or elſewhere, and to act as well offenſively as defenſively againſt any Power, except only offenſively againſt the Pope, the Empire, or *Cæſar*. On the other Hand the King confirmed their antient Penſions, and promiſed to pay them at certain Times the Six Hundred Thouſand Ducats ſtipulated at *Dijon*, beſides Three Hundred Thouſand more when they reſtored the Towns and Valleys belonging to the Dutchy of *Milan*. But the five Cantons which were in Poſſeſſion of them refuſing to reſtore them, and to ratify the Agreement, the King began to pay the other eight Cantons their proportionate Share of the Money, who accepted it, but with an expreſs Condition of not being bound to march in his Pay againſt the five Cantons.

League renewed between the King of *France* and the *Swiſs*.

A. D. 1516.

IN the Beginning of this Year the Biſhop of *Petrucci*, an old Acquaintance of the Pontiff, aſſiſted by him and the *Florentines*, expelled *Borgheſe*, the Son of *Pandolfo Petrucci* his Kinſman, who had the Government of *Siena*, from that City, and took upon himſelf the ſame Authority. What induced the Pope to this Step was his Deſire that *Siena*, being ſituated between the State of the Church and that of the *Florentines*, ſhould be governed by one who was at his Devotion, and perhaps much more his Hopes that whenever the Times ſhould favour him with an Opportunity, he might, with the Conſent of the Biſhop himſelf, bring it under Subjection either to his Brother or to his Nephew.

Pope's Deſign upon *Siena*.

THE Affairs of *Italy* were ſtill embroiled by the Diſputes between *Cæſar* and the *Venetians*, the Republic being eager to recover *Breſcia* and *Verona* by the Aſſiſtance of the *French*; other Parts ſeemed to enjoy a tolerable State of Reſt. But on a ſudden appeared the Beginnings

A. D. 1516. of new Movements, which were excited by the Operation of the King of *Aragon*, who being apprehenſive that his Kingdom of *Naples* would be endangered by the Greatneſs of the King of *France*, treated with *Cæſar* and the King of *England* about commencing a new War againſt him. It was not difficult to prevail on *Maximilian*, who was always deſirous of Novelties, and could hardly of himſelf preſerve the Towns taken from the *Venetians*, to come into his Meaſures: And the King of *England*, on whom the Memory of his Father-in-law's Breach of Promiſes had leſs Influence than his preſent Emulation and Hatred of the King of *France*, alſo gave his Conſent, to which he was beſides ſtimulated by his Deſire that the King of *Scotland* in his Minority ſhould be under the Tutelage of Perſons either recommended by him, or dependent on him *. But their Deſigns would

* His chief Governor was *John Stuart*, Duke of *Albany*, Couſin German to the late King *James*, and appointed to that Charge at the Recommendation of the King of *France*, in whoſe Favour he eſtabliſhed many Regulations and Changes, which gave Umbrage to the King of *England*.

would have been profecuted with better Conduct, and with greater Forces, if there had not intervened, while they were on the Carpet, the Death of the King of *Aragon*, who, after labouring under a tedious Indiſpoſition, died in *January* at *Madrigalegio*, a very poor Village, in his Progreſs with his Court to *Seville* *. He was a Prince of moſt excellent Wiſdom and Valour, and if he had made Conſcience of keeping his Promiſes would hardly have left Room for Cenſure; for that niggardly and tenacious Temper, for which he was calumniated, was demonſtrated a Falſhood by his Death, when after a Reign of Forty-two Years he left no Treaſure of Money behind him. But it almoſt conſtantly happens, through the depraved Judgment of Men, that in Kings Prodigality, tho' in conjunction with Rapacity, is reckoned more commendable than Parſimony when joined with abſtaining from the Property of others. The rare Virtues

A. D. 1516.

Death and Character of the King of *Aragon*.

* He died at *Madrid*, then an obſcure Village, in the County of *Toledo*, in his Way from *Caſtile* to *Andaluſia* with a Deſign to raiſe Troops and man out a Fleet at *Cartagena*, aged, according to *Giovio*, 75, of which he reigned in *Spain* about 40 Years.

A. D. 1516. of this King were attended with a very rare Proſperity, which, if you except the Death of an only Son, was perpetual and uninterrupted during the whole Courſe of his Life; for the Misfortunes of the Females and of his Son-in-law were the Occaſion of his retaining his Greatneſs till his Death, and the Neceſſity of his departing out of *Caſtile* on the Death of his Conſort was rather a Sport than a Stroke of Fortune. In all other Events he was extremely fortunate; being the ſecond Son of the King of *Aragon* he obtained that Kingdom by the Death of his elder Brother; by contracting Marriage with *Iſabella* he enjoyed the Kingdom of *Caſtile*, victoriouſly driving away his Adverſaries who were in Competition with him for that Crown. After this he recovered the Kingdom of *Granada*, which had been in the Poſſeſſion of the Enemies of our Faith near Eight Hundred Years. He added to his Dominions the Kingdoms of *Naples* and *Navarre*, with *Oran* and many other important Places on the Coaſts of *Africa*. Ever ſuperior, and almoſt always Conqueror wherever he met his Enemies, and

where

where Fortune appeared in manifeſt Conjunction with Induſtry, he uſually covered his ambitious Deſires with the Cloke of a laudable Zeal for Religion, and a pious Intention of promoting the common Welfare. About a Month before his Death died the Great Captain, abſent from Court, and diſſatisfied with his Prince. The King howëver was pleaſed to have ſuch Honours paid to the Memory of his noblé Exploits, both by himſelf and by the whole Kingdom, as were ſeldom ſhewn to any in *Spain* but at the Death of Kings, for which he was highly applauded by all the People, to whom the Name of the Great Captain for his boundleſs Liberality was moſt precious, and for the Reputation of his Prudence, and Skill in the military Art, above all the Generals his Cotemporaries, was had in the higheſt Veneration.

A. D. 1516.

Death of the Great Captain.

By the Death of the Catholic King the King of *France* was the more animated to the Enterprize againſt *Naples*, on which he was inclined to ſend immediately the Duke of *Bourbon* with Eight Hundred Lances

King of *France* meditates the Conqueſt of *Naples*.

A. D. 1516. Lances and Ten Thouſand Foot, perſuading himſelf that, from the Tumults excited in that Kingdom on occaſion of the Death of the King, and its ill State of Defence, the Archduke being unable to ſend any Succours in Seaſon, he might eaſily make himſelf Maſter of it. He doubted not that the Pope, on account of the Hopes he had given him when they met together at *Bologna*, and the Friendſhip they had contracted together at the Interview, would be favourable to the Undertaking; and no leſs out of Regard to his own Intereſt, ſince he muſt of neceſſity take Umbrage at the exorbitant Greatneſs of the Archduke, the Inheritor of ſo many Kingdoms left him by the Catholic King, and the preſumptive Succeſſor of *Cæſar*. He was beſides in Hopes that the Archduke, being ſenſible that to have him for his Enemy might be of great Prejudice to his Endeavours in ſettling the Kingdom of *Spain*, and particularly the Kingdom of *Aragon*, to which, if Power had been joined to Right, ſome of the ſame Family would have aſpired, would proceed with Moderation in oppoſing

poſing him. For while the late King and his Conſort *Iſabella* were living it had indeed been interpreted that, in the antient Parliaments of that Kingdom which excluded Females from the Succeſſion, it was not intended to prejudice the Males born of them, when in the male Line there were no Brothers, Uncles, or Nephews of the late King; or of one who was nearer to him than the Iſſue by the female Side, or at leaſt in an equal Degree, and on this Account the Succeſſion was declared to belong to the Archduke *Charles* after the Death of *Ferdinando*. But tho' for this was brought as a Precedent that *Martin* King of *Aragon* dying without male Iſſue, *Ferdinando* the Grandfather of this *Ferdinando* had, by the Sentence of the Judges deputed from all Parts of the Kingdom for this Purpoſe, tho' related to *Martin* by the female Line, been preferred to the Count of *Urgel* and the others related to *Martin* by the male Line, but in a more remote Degree than *Ferdinando*, yet there had been always to this preſent Time a ſecret Murmuring among the People that in this Interpretation and

A. D. 1516.

Succeſſion of *Aragon*.

Declaration

A. D. 1516. Declaration the Power of *Ferdinando* and *Iſabella* had more Influence than Juſtice, it appearing to many not a juſt Interpretation that Females ſhould be excluded, and yet their Iſſue admitted, and that the Sentence given for old *Ferdinando* was rather extorted by the Fear of his Arms than a Conviction of Reaſon. The King of *France* being well appriſed of theſe Things, and knowing alſo that the People of the Provinces of *Aragon*, and *Valentia*, and of the County of *Catalonia*, which are all comprehended under the Kingdom of *Aragon*, were deſirous of having a King of their own, was in Hopes that the Archduke, to avoid endangering his Succeſſion to ſo many great and conſiderable States, would at laſt be induced to yield him the Kingdom of *Naples* on ſome reaſonable Compoſition. At the ſame Time, to gain his Ends by Favour as well as by Force, he was pleaſed that *Proſpero Colonna*, who had agreed to ranſom himſelf for 35000 Ducats, ſhould be releaſed for half that Sum; whence many were of Opinion that *Proſpero* had made him a ſecret Promiſe not to bear Arms againſt him,

him, or perhaps to be aſſiſtant to him in the *Neapolitan* War, tho' with ſome Reſtriction or Reſerve to ſave his Honour. *A. D.* 1516.

WHILE the King's Thoughts were taken up with theſe Projects, and he was on the Point of reſolving to put his Troops in Motion without Delay, he found himſelf obliged by ſome new Incidents to turn all his Cares on providing for his own Defence: For *Cæſar* having received, in Conſequence of the Negotiations before begun with the King of *Aragon*, an Hundred and Twenty Thouſand Ducats, was preparing, according to his Agreement with that King, to attack the Dutchy of *Milan*, after he had firſt put Succours into *Verona* and *Breſcia*, which was neceſſary becauſe the *Venetian* Army, now under the Command of *Teodoro da Trivulzi* appointed General after the Return of *Trivulzio* to *Milan*, was encamped within Six Miles of *Breſcia*, and with their Stradiotti ſcoured the whole Country. The Garriſon of *Breſcia* one Day made a Sally on theſe Rovers, but after a ſharp Conteſt, each Party receiving continual Reinforcements, were

Actions of Parties.

A. D. 1516. were repulſed within the Walls with the Loſs of many killed on the Spot, and the Brother of the Governor of the City was taken Priſoner. Within a few Days after *Lautrech*, General of the *French* Army, and *Teodoro da Trivulzi*, receiving Intelligence that Three Thouſand *German* Foot were eſcorting a Sum of Money ſent to pay the Soldiers, detached *Janus Fregoſo* and *Giancurrado Orſino* with ſome Troops ſelected out of both Armies to the Caſtle of *Anſo* to prevent their Paſſage, who killed about Eight Hundred of the *Germans*, the reſt with the Money eſcaping to *Lodrone*. The *Venetians* ſent afterwards Twenty-five Hundred Foot into the *Val di Sabbia*, to fortify the Caſtle of *Anſo*, who burnt *Lodrone* and *Aſtorio*.

Maximilian's Expedition into Italy.

THE Danger that *Breſcia*, thus diſtreſſed and moleſted, would ſurrender, obliged *Cæſar* to haſten his March. He led with him Five Thouſand Horſe, Fifteen Thouſand *Swiſs* granted him by the Five Cantons, and Ten Thouſand *Spaniſh* and *German* Foot, and took the Road from *Trento* to *Verona*. The *French* and *Venetian*

netian Army therefore, leaving good Garriſons in *Vicenza* and *Padoua*, went and poſted themſelves at *Peſchiera*, with a Deſign, as it was pretended, to prevent the Emperor from paſſing the River *Mincio*. But the Execution, as it often happens, did not anſwer the Reſolution; for as ſoon as they perceived the Approach of the Enemy, they had not Courage enough to execute in the Field what they had reſolved in their Tents, but paſſed the *Oglio*, and retired to *Cremona*, the Reputation and Boldneſs of the Enemy increaſing as their own diminiſhed. *Cæſar*, either induced by bad Counſel, or impelled by his evil Fortune, halted to beſiege *Aſola*, which had a Garriſon of an Hundred Men at Arms and Four Hundred *Venetian* Foot, where he ſpent ſeveral Days to no Purpoſe, which Delay is undoubtedly believed to have been the Cauſe of his ill Succeſs. Decamping from *Aſola* he paſſed the River *Oglio* at *Orci Nuovi*, and the Enemy leaving in *Cremona* Three Hundred Lances and Three Thouſand Foot retired on the other Side the *Adda*, with an Intent to diſpute the Paſſage of that River. By their

A. D. 1516.

A. D. 1516. their Retreat the Emperor became Maſter of all the Country between the *Oglio*, the *Po*, and the *Adda*, except *Cremona* and *Crema*, the firſt garriſoned by the *French*, and the other by the *Venetians*. *Cæſar* was attended by the Cardinal of *Sion*, by many Exiles of the Dutchy of *Milan*, and by *Marc' Antonio Colonna* in the Service of the Pope with Two Hundred Men at Arms. His Progreſs ſtruck the greater Terror into the *French*, as their chief Hopes depended on the ſpeedy March of Sixteen Thouſand *Swiſs*, to whom they had advanced three Months Pay. *Cæſar*, after paſſing the *Oglio*, proceeded to the River *Adda*, deſigning to paſs it at *Pizzichitone*, but finding that his Paſſage would be difficult at that Place, he marched to *Rivolta*, the *French* being drawn up in Order at *Caſciano* on the other Side of the River. But the *Swiſs* not being yet arrived, and the *Adda* being fordable in ſeveral Places, the next Day the *French* Army retired to *Milan*, not without reproachful Reflexions on *Lautrech*, who had publiſhed, and written to the King, that he would ſtop *Cæſar* from paſſing that River. That Prince having

French retreat to *Milan*.

having thus paſſed without Oppoſition, the City of *Lodi* immediately ſurrendered to him; and from thence approaching within a few Miles of *Milan* he ſent a Herald to demand the Town, threatening the *Milaneſe* that if they did not drive away the *French* Army within three Days he would treat their City worſe than it was treated by his Predeceſſor *Frederic Barbaroſſa*. That Emperor, not contented with burning and demoliſhing *Milan*, cauſed the Ground on which it ſtood to be ſowed with Salt, in Memory of his Anger and of the Rebellion of the Citizens. *A. D.* 1516.

BUT among the *French*, who were retired under great Conſternation into *Milan*, was a Variety of Propoſals; ſome inclining baſely to abandon the Town, becauſe they did not think themſelves in a Condition to oppoſe the Enemy, nor did believe that the *Swiſs*, though they were known to be already on the Road, would ever arrive; for they had Intelligence that the Cantons had either already ordered, or were upon the Point of ordering, that the *Swiſs* ſhould relinquiſh the Service of *French* conſult at *Milan*.

A. D. 1516 both the hoſtile Parties; and it was doubted that the Troops on the Road would be more ready to pay Obedience to the Orders of their Maſters, than thoſe in the Service of the Enemy. Others deteſted this Reſolution of a Departure as infamous and diſgraceful, and putting more Confidence in the Coming of the *Swiſs*, and in their own Ability to defend the City; adviſed taking the beſt Meaſures for its Preſervation, and that laying aſide all Thoughts of hazarding a Battle they ſhould keep all the Foot with Eight Hundred Lances in *Milan*, and diſtribute the other Forces with thoſe of the *Venetians* and all the light Horſe into the neighbouring Towns, to guard them, and to cut the Enemies ſhort of Proviſions. The firſt Counſel, however, would have been followed, had it not been earneſtly diſſuaded by *Andrea Gritti* and *Andrea Triviſano* the *Venetian* Proveditors, whoſe Authority yet could do no more than juſt prevail with them not to be too haſty in their Reſolution to depart, ſo that when they had now determined to be gone, certain Advice came that *Alberto Petra* with Ten Thouſand *Swiſs* and

Griſons

Griſons would the next Day be in *Milan*. This News revived the drooping Spirits of all; but not depending, however, on their own Strength for the Defence of the Suburbs, they retired within the Walls, ſetting Fire to the Suburbs by Advice of the *Venetian* Proveditors, who gave them this Counſel, either becauſe they judged it neceſſary for the Preſervation of the City, or becauſe they were willing to take this Opportunity to gratify the antient Enmity that ſubſiſted between the *Milaneſe* and *Venetians*. They expelled alſo out of the City, or kept under honourable Cuſtody, many of the principal Perſons of the *Ghibelline* Party, as inclined to embrace the Authority of the Empire out of Zeal for a Faction, and becauſe there were ſuch Numbers of them with the *German* Army. *A. D.* 1516.

CÆSAR in the mean time took Poſt with his Army at *Lambra* two Miles from *Milan*. While he was there the *Swiſs* arrived in that City, where they profeſſed themſelves ready to defend *Milan*, but refuſed to go out to Battle againſt the other *Swiſs*. Their Coming put new Spirits in

A. D. 1516. the *French*, but gave much greater Terror to *Cæſar*, who, conſidering the inveterate Hatred of that Nation againſt the Houſe of *Auſtria*, and recalling to Mind what had happened to *Lodovico Sforza* from a Meeting of oppoſite *Swiſs*, began to be apprehenſive that they would ſerve him in the ſame Manner, ſince he thought them more likely to deceive him who lay under Difficulties how to pay them, than the *French*, who wanted no Money to pay, or corrupt them. And his Suſpicions were increaſed becauſe *Giacopo Staffiler*, Commander in Chief of the *Swiſs*, had with great Arrogance demanded of him the Pay, which, not to mention other Difficulties, was deferred becauſe the Money that was coming from *Germany* was ſtopped by the *Spaniſh* Foot who were in Garriſon at *Breſcia* for the Payment of their Arrears. *Maximilian* therefore, in a wonderful Commotion from the Fear of his Danger, decamped in a Hurry, and retired towards the *Adda**, none doubting but

Cæſar retreats from Milan.

* *Trivulzio* wrote counterfeit Letters directed to the chief Officers of the *Swiſs*, in which he put them in Mind of executing what they had promiſed him by the Agreement

but if he had approached *Milan* three Days ſooner, which Time he waſted before *Aſola*, the *French*, who were then under much greater Doubt and Uncertainty of the Coming of the *Swiſs*, would have returned beyond the Mountains: Or, even if he had not ſo ſoon decamped, it was firmly believed that either the *French*, who had no full Confidence in the Faith of the *Swiſs* becauſe of the Regard they ſhewed to their Countrymen with *Cæſar*, would have followed the firſt Counſel; or that the *Swiſs* themſelves, taking an Excuſe from the Commandment of their Superiors, which was already publiſhed, would have abandoned the *French*. A. D. 1516.

CÆSAR paſſed the River *Adda*, but was not followed by the *Swiſs*, who halted at *Lodi*, proteſting they would depart if they were not paid within four Days. But *Cæſar*, who was encamped in the Territory of *Bergamo*, continually gave them Hopes of Payment, ſaying that he

ment within two Days: Theſe Letters being intercepted by *Maximilian* threw him into violent Suſpicions that he was betrayed by the *Swiſs*. *Giovio*.

A. D. 1516. expected new Supplies of Money from the King of *England*, and threatened to return to *Milan*. Theſe Proceedings held in vaſt Suſpenſe the *French*, who were more uncertain than ever of the Faith of the *Swiſs*, who, beſides the Slowneſs which they purpoſely uſed in coming, and their conſtant Aſſeverations that they would never fight againſt the *Swiſs* in the Enemy's Army, had received the Orders of the Cantons commanding them to quit the *French* Service, in Obedience to which about Two Thouſand of them were already gone, and it was feared that the reſt would follow them, though the Cantons on the other hand aſſured the King that they had ſent private Orders to their Troops not to quit him. At laſt *Cæſar*, after exacting Sixteen Thouſand Ducats of the City of *Bergamo*, making a Motion, in Expectation of the Succeſs of a Plot, towards *Crema*, and returning without Effect into the *Bergamaſco*, reſolved to ſet out for *Trent*. He acquainted the General Officers of the Army with his Reſolution, and aſſured them that his Motive to it was from an Intention to provide himſelf

ſelf with new Supplies of Money, with which and thoſe from the King of *England* now on the Road, he would ſoon be with them, encouraging them to wait with Patience for his Return. His Army, after plundering *Lodi*, and forcing the Caſtle without Artillery, plundered alſo the Town of *Sant' Angelo*, being ſtraitened for Want of Proviſions, and then took up their Quarters in the *Ghiaradadda*. After the Departure of *Cæſar* there were ſome Hopes that the *Swiſs*, who were joined by the whole Army at *Romano*, would again have paſſed the *Adda*, becauſe the Marquis of *Brandenburg* was arrived in the Camp, and the Cardinal of *Sion* at *Bergamo* with Thirty Thouſand Ducats remitted by the King of *England*. Under this Apprehenſion the Duke of *Bourbon*, who had been left by almoſt all the *Swiſs*, and by the *Venetians*, was advanced with the Army to the further Bank of the River. But the Deſigns of the Enemy were eaſily fruſtrated, for the *Swiſs*, not finding the Money that was brought ſufficient to pay their Arrears, returned by the Valley of *Valtelina* into their own Country; and for

A. D. 1516.

Cæſar returns in glorious to Germany.

A. D. 1516. the ſame Reaſon Three Thouſand Foot, Part *Spaniards* Part *Germans*, went over to the Camp of the *French* and *Venetians*, who with their combined Forces, after paſſing the *Adda*, had never ceaſed moleſting for ſeveral Days together the Enemy with various Incurſions and Skirmiſhes with different Succeſs, ſometimes the greater Loſs falling on the *French*, who in a great Skirmiſh near *Bergamo* loſt Two Hundred Men at Arms; ſometimes on the Enemy, who in a like Conflict had *Ceſare Fieramoſca* taken Priſoner. The Remainder of the Troops receiving a Ducat each Man drew off to *Breſcia*, but as they were greatly incommoded by the light Horſe *Marc' Antonio Colonna* with the *German* and ſome *Spaniſh* Foot betook himſelf to *Verona*, and all the reſt diſperſed themſelves.

Pope ſuſpected by the King of *France*.

SUCH was the End of the Movement made by *Cæſar*, in which the King of *France* had ſtrong Suſpicions of the Pope; for having requeſted of his Holineſs that, according to the Obligations of the League made between them, he would ſend Five Hundred

Hundred Men at Arms to the Defence of the State of *Milan*, or at leaſt order them to the Frontiers, and pay the Hire of Three Thouſand *Swiſs*, as he charged him with having offered by *Antonio Maria Pallavicino*, the Pope coldly anſwered as to the Payment of the *Swiſs*, and excuſing himſelf from ſending his own Troops on account of their bad Condition, promiſed to ſend thoſe of the *Florentines*, which accordingly put themſelves on their March, with ſome of his own Soldiers, very ſlowly towards *Bologna* and *Reggio*. The Suſpicion that the Pontiff was privy to this Expedition of *Cæſar* was increaſed by conſidering that his Holineſs, on the firſt Advice that the Emperor was entered into *Italy*, appointed for his Legate to him *Bernardo da Bibbiena*, Cardinal of *Santa Maria in Portico*, who always uſed to oppoſe the *French* Intereſt at the Court of *Rome*; and much more by the Pope's permitting *Marc' Antonio* with his Troops to ſerve under *Cæſar*. But the Truth was that the Coming of the Emperor with ſo great a Force made the Pope uneaſy on account of his own Intereſt, being appre- A. D. 1516.

A. D. 1516. apprehenſive that *Cæſar*, if he ſhould come off Conqueror, would, according to his antient Inclination, attempt to oppreſs all *Italy*; yet out of Fear, and becauſe it was agreeable to his Nature to proceed in this Manner, he concealed his own Sentiments, and endeavoured to render himſelf as little obnoxious as poſſible to either Party. Wherefore he durſt not recall *Marc' Antonio*, nor durſt he ſend the ſtipulated Auxiliaries to the King, and he appointed a Legate to *Cæſar*. And on the other Hand when *Cæſar* had broke up from *Milan*, he contrived that the Legate, on Pretence of Sickneſs, ſhould ſtop at *Rubiera*, and look about him, before he proceeded any further, and obſerve on which Side the Victory ſeemed to incline; and after this, to ſoften the King's Heart, he was pleaſed that his Nephew *Lorenzo* ſhould continue the ſame diſſembling Profeſſions of Dependence on him which he had begun at *Milan*, and ſhould cauſe the *Florentines* to preſent him with a Month's Pay for Three Thouſand *Swiſs*. The King accepted the Money, but to ſhew that he had a right Notion of the Pope's

Pope's Artifices, ſaid that, ſince he found him always contrary to him in War, and that his Confederacy did him no Service in Times of Danger, he would make a new League with him, which ſhould bind him only in Times of Peace and Security. *A. D.* 1516.

CÆSAR's Army being broken, the *Venetians*, without waiting for the *French*, one Night on a ſudden approached *Breſcia* with Scaling-Ladders, truſting to the Smallneſs of the Garriſon, which amounted to no more than Six Hundred *Spaniſh* Foot, and Four Hundred Horſe; but the Ladders proving too ſhort, and the Defendants making a vigorous Reſiſtance, the Attempt miſcarried. After this arrived the *French* Army under the Command of *Odet de Foix*, lately appointed Governor of *Milan* in the Place of the Duke of *Bourbon*, who had reſigned. The two Armies now in conjunction play'd upon *Breſcia* from four Batteries, in order to render it impoſſible for the few Defendants to reſiſt in ſo many Places. The Garriſon however defended themſelves as long as they had any Hopes that

Seven

A. D. 1516 Seven Thouſand Foot of the County of *Tirol*, which by Orders from *Cæſar* were come to *Montagnana*, would advance forwards; but as all Attempts for that Purpoſe were fruſtrated by the Oppoſition which the *Venetians* made at the Caſtle of *Anſo* and at other Paſſes, they did not care to ſtand the Aſſault which was to be given the next Day, a great Length of the Wall being ruined, but capitulated on Condition that the Soldiers might march out of the Town and Caſtle only with their Effects if they were not relieved within Twenty-four Hours.

Breſcia recovered by the *Venetians*.

At the ſame Time the Pope prepared to deprive *Franceſco Maria della Rovere* by Force of Arms of the Dutchy of *Urbino*, and begun to proceed againſt him with Cenſures, publiſhing a Monitory, in which was expreſſed that the Duke being in the Service of the Church had refuſed her the Troops for which he had received her Pay, and had made a ſecret Agreement with her Enemies; the Murder he had ſo long ago committed of the Cardinal of *Pavia*, of which he had been abſolved by

Pope covets the Dutchy of *Urbino*.

by Grace, not by Juſtice; other Murders perpetrated by him; that in the greateſt Heat of the War againſt Pope *Julius*, whoſe Nephew, Subject, and General he was, he had ſent *Baldaſſarre da Caſtiglione* to liſt in the King's Service; that he had at the ſame time refuſed a Paſſage to ſome Troops that were marching to join the Army of the Church; and that in the State which he held as a Feudatary of the Apoſtolic See, he had perſecuted the Soldiers of the ſame See in their Flight from the Battle of *Ravenna*. The Pope had formed a Deſign to attack the Duke ſeveral Months before, being not only provoked againſt him by late Offences, but by the Memory of his former Refuſal to aſſiſt his Brother and him in their Return to *Florence*; but he was reſtrained in ſome meaſure by the Shame of perſecuting the Nephew of a Pope by whoſe Means the Church had arrived to ſuch a Height of Grandeur, and much more by the Intreaties of his Brother *Giuliano*, who in the Time of their Exile having lived many Years in the Court of *Urbino* with the Duke *Guido*, and after his Death with the

A. D. 1516.

preſent

A. D. 1516. preſent Duke, could not bear to ſee him deprived by his own Family of that Dutchy in which he himſelf had been ſupported and honoured. But *Giuliano* dying of a lingering Diſorder in *Florence*, and *Cæſar*'s Undertaking proving abortive, the Pontiff, ſtimulated by *Lorenzo* his Nephew and *Alfonſina* his Mother, who coveted the Appropriation of that State to themſelves, reſolved to delay no longer, alledging, to acquit himſelf of Ingratitude, with which he was charged by many, not only the Injuries received from the Duke, with the Penalties which, according to the Diſpoſition of Juſtice, were incurred by a Vaſſal who was contumacious to his Lord, and by a Soldier, who being under military Obligations, and having received Money, refuſed his Troops to one who had paid him, but much more, the Danger of tolerating in the Bowels of his State a Man who, having already, without any Regard to Faith or Honour, begun to offend him, he might be certain, would not fail, when a fairer Opportunity offered, to be ſo much the more

more ready to commit the like Offences in Time to come. *A. D.* 1516.

In the Proſecution of this War, as ſoon as *Lorenzo*, with an Army compoſed of the Soldiers and Subjects of the Church and of the *Florentines*, touched upon the Borders of that Dutchy, the City of *Urbino*, with the other Towns of that State, freely ſubmitted to the Pontiff, the Duke, who was retired to *Peſaro*, conſenting that, ſince he could not defend them, they ſhould conſult their own Safety. *Peſaro* did the ſame as ſoon as the Enemy came before it; for tho' it had within it Three Thouſand Men, the City was fortified, and the Sea open, yet *Franceſco Maria*, leaving *Tranquillo da Mondolfo* his Confident in the Caſtle, ſet out thence for *Mantoua*, whither he had before ſent his Wife and Son, either putting no Confidence in his Soldiers, or as many, excuſing his Fear with his Love, affirmed, becauſe he could not bear to be abſent from his Conſort. Thus was the Dutchy of *Urbino*, together with *Peſaro* and *Sinigaglia*, in the Space of four Days reduced under

Gets Poſſeſſion of it.

A. D. 1516. under the Obedience of the Church, except the Caſtles of *Sinigaglia*, *Peſaro*, *San Leo*, and *Rocca di Majuolo*. But the Caſtle of *Sinigaglia* immediately after ſurrendered, and the Caſtle of *Peſaro*, tho' very ſtrong, after two Days Battery, agreed to ſurrender if it were not relieved in twenty Days, on Condition that no new Fortifications or Batteries ſhould be made during that Time, which Agreement being but ill obſerved was the Occaſion that *Tranquillo*, who had received no Succours within the Term prefixed, refuſing to yield up the Caſtle, began to fire his Cannon anew, and made a Sally upon the advanced Guards of the Beſiegers. But his Fate was the harder, for *Lorenzo*, as ſoon as he had taken Poſſeſſion of the Town, returning to *Florence*, the Generals that were left with the Army had caſt Intrenchments about the Caſtle, and manned out ſome Veſſels to prevent all Relief by Sea, and when the Time for ſurrendering was expired the Batteries immediately began to fire. But on the ſame Day the Soldiers of the Garriſon mutinied againſt *Tranquillo*, and for their own Security delivered

livered him into the Hands of the commanding Officers of the Beſiegers, who, as a Puniſhment for his breaking the Capitulation, ſentenced him to be hanged on a Gallows. A few Days after ſurrendered the Fortreſs of *Majuolo*, which was a Place the Poſſeſſion of which was neceſſary for forming the Siege of *San Leo*, ſince it is but a Mile diſtant from it, and ſituated over-againſt it. A. D. 1516.

ABOUT *San Leo* were poſted Two Thouſand Foot, to keep it blocked up, becauſe it was ſo very ſtrong by its Situation that there were no Hopes of reducing it but by Famine. The Place however was three Months after taken by a Stratagem owing to a Carpenter, who one Night by means of a very long Ladder getting upon a Precipice or Cliff, eſteemed the moſt difficult of that Mountain, ordered the Ladder to be taken away, and remaining in that Place the whole Night, as ſoon as Day appeared ſet about climbing by the Help of ſome iron Inſtruments, till he made his Way at laſt to the Top of the Mountain, whence deſcending,

A. D. 1516. and with his Inſtruments rendering eaſier ſome of the moſt difficult Places, he returned the next Night by the ſame Ladder to the Camp. Here giving Aſſurances that the Mountain might be climbed, he returned on a Night appointed by means of the ſame Ladder to his Poſt, and was followed by One Hundred and Fifty of the choiceſt Foot; and after they had lodged during the Night on the Precipice, becauſe it was impoſſible to climb in the Dark, they began at Break of Day to aſcend Man after Man by thoſe very narrow Places, and about thirty of them, with a Drum and ſix Colours, were already got to the Top of the Mountain, where they lay cloſe to the Ground expecting their Companions who were clambering after them, when it being now broad Day, a Watch of the Garriſon going off from their Poſt eſpied thoſe who lay proſtrate on the Ground, and gave the Alarm. The Men ſeeing themſelves diſcovered, without waiting for their Companions, gave the Signal, as they had agreed, to thoſe in the Camp, who, according to the Orders that had been given, with

with a Multitude of Ladders ſuddenly attacked the Mountain in many Places to diſtract the Garriſon, who running to their appointed Poſts, and being terrified at the Sight of ſix Colours within their Fortifications, who were ſcouring the Plain on Top, and had already killed ſome of them, betook themſelves to the Caſtle which was built on the Mountain. But the others who had by this time climbed up after their Companions, opened the Gate which gives an Entrance upon the Mountain, and ſo gave Admiſſion to thoſe who had not as yet climbed. The Mountain being thus taken, the Garriſon of the Caſtle, tho' it was well provided with all Neceſſaries, ſurrendered the ſecond Day. After the Conqueſt of this State, which, together with *Peſaro* and *Sinigaglia*, ſeparate Members from the Dutchy of *Urbino*, yield not a Revenue of more than Twenty-five Thouſand Ducats, *Leo*, following the Proceſs which he had begun, deprived *Franceſco Maria* of theſe Dominions by ſolemn Sentence, and afterwards gave the Inveſtiture of them in a Conſiſtory to *Lorenzo* his Nephew, all the

A. D. 1516.

Caſtle of *San Leo* taken by Stratagem

A. D. 1516. Cardinals, for the greater Validity, ſetting their Hands to the Bull expedited for this Effect. But *Domenico Grimano*, Biſhop of *Urbino*, and a great Friend to the Duke, refuſed to concur with the reſt, and therefore, being apprehenſive of the Anger of the Pope, a few Days after departed from *Rome*, and did not return till after his Death.

Lorenzo de' Medici inveſted with the Dutchy of *Urbino*.

THE King of *France* was diſpleaſed at the Ruine of the Duke of *Urbino*, who was deprived of his State for treating with his Majeſty. But he was more diſpleaſed at many of the Pope's Actions; for *Proſpero Colonna*, when he returned from *France*, having ſtopt at *Buſſeto*, a Town of the *Pallavicini*, and from thence, ſuſpecting the *French*, removed to *Modena*, met with *Girolamo Morone*, who was alſo retired thither as a Place of Safety, being apprehenſive of the *French*, becauſe, contrary to their Promiſes, they had ordered that he ſhould go for *France*. Theſe two were continually plotting all the Time that *Proſpero* ſtayed at *Modena*, and afterwards at *Bologna*, how to ſurpriſe, by means of ſome

Pope diſaffected to the *French* Intereſt.

ſome Exiles, ſome important Place of the Dutchy of *Milan*, in which Deſign they had alſo the Concurrence of *Muzio Colonna*, to whom the Pope, being privy to the Plot, had granted Quarters for his Regiment in the *Modeneſe*. Beſides this, the Pope had adviſed the Catholic King (which was now the Title of the Archduke by the Death of his maternal Grandfather) to enter into no new Agreements with the King of *France*: And *Ennio* Biſhop of *Veruli*, Apoſtolic Nuncio, and afterwards, though almoſt decrepit, promoted to the Cardinalſhip, beſides doing many other ill Offices to the King with the *Swiſs*, exhorted the Five Cantons to cultivate the Friendſhip of the Emperor. Hence, as a Treaty was at the ſame time carrying on between *Cæſar* (who, keeping himſelf between *Trent* and *Inſpruck*, terrified the *French* more with Noiſe and Show than Efforts) the King of *England*, and the *Swiſs*, for making a freſh Attack on the Dutchy of *Milan*, the King of *France* was apprehenſive that theſe Affairs were tranſacted with the Conſent of the Pontiff, whoſe evil Diſpoſition appeared A. D. 1516.

A. D. 1516. alſo in another Inſtance, by raiſing Difficulties, and making various Exceptions in granting him the Tenths of the Benefices of the Kingdom of *France*, which he had promiſed him at *Bologna*. Such, however, is the Majeſty of the Pontificate that the King ſtudied to pacify him by many kind Offices; hence when he deſigned, after the Departure of the Emperor, to ſend Troops to exact Contributions of Money from *Mirandola*, *Carpi* and *Correggio*, as Imperial Towns, he deſiſted on the Pope's remonſtrating that he had before taken the Lords of thoſe Places under his Protection. And when the *Moors* of *Africa* with a Multitude of Ships infeſted the Lower Sea*, the King offered, for the Security of thoſe maritime Parts, to ſend a good Fleet of Ships, which *Pietro Navarra* was by his Conſent fitting out at *Marſeilles*, to be manned with Six Thouſand Foot, for attacking, with a View only to Plunder, the maritime Places of *Barbary*. The Pontiff, however, not altering his

* The *Tuſcan* Sea, or the Sea which waſhes *Tuſcany* and the Southern Coaſts of the Kingdom of *Naples*, in Oppoſition to the *Adriatic*, or *Gulf of Venice*, which is called the *Upper Sea*.

his Sentiments, though he partly denied, and partly excuſed the Facts, never gave ear in the leaſt to the earneſt Importunities of the King for removing the Biſhop of *Verulì* from *Swiſſerland*. Nor did he ever remove *Muzio Colonna* from the *Modenèſe*, where, as he pretended, he took up his Reſidence by his own Authority, till, by the Departure of *Proſpero Colonna* from *Bologna*, and the entire Fruſtration of what they had been ſo long concerting, his Stay was become of no Importance. But his Departure proved moſt unfortunate to him, for not long after, having with the Forces of the *Colonna's* and ſome *Spaniſh* Foot ſurpriſed *Fermo* by Night, while he was buſy in plundering the City, he re-received a Wound, of which he died in a few Days. A. D. 1516.

IN this State of Affairs the *Venetian* Senate being importunate for the Recovery of *Verona*, *Lautrech* having in his Army Six Thouſand *German* Foot, whom the *Venetians* had agreed to pay for this Enterpriſe, advanced to the *Adice*, with a Deſign to paſs that River at *Uſolingo*, and in

A. D. 1516. conjunction with the *Venetian* Army to lay Siege to *Verona*. But afterwards the Report of the Coming of the *Swiſs* increaſing, and the Umbrage taken at the Stay of *Proſpero Colonna* in *Modena* being augmented, becauſe the Cardinal of *Santa Maria in Portico* had taken up his Reſidence in the ſame City, the *French* General drew off his Forces, not without the Complaints of the *Venetians*, and retired to *Peſchiera*, diſtributing his Troops in the Territory on both Sides of the River *Mincio*. And though all Fears and Jealouſies on the abovementioned Accounts were ceaſed, and above Two Thouſand *Spaniſh* and *German* Foot had deſerted from *Verona*, and enliſted under the *Venetians*, and Deſerters continually came over, he remained in thoſe Quarters above a Month, expecting, as he ſaid, ſome Money from *France*, and that the *Venetians* would make greater Proviſion of Money, Artillery and Ammunition. But the truer Reaſon was his Expectation of the Succeſs of the Negotiations between his Maſter and the Catholic King. For the King of *France* knowing how neceſſary

Lautrech declines the Siege of *Verona*.

his

his Friendſhip was to the other King, in order to remove the Difficulties of his Paſſage into *Spain*, and for the Eſtabliſhment of thoſe Kingdoms, was not content with the Agreement which they had before concluded at *Paris*, but endeavoured to impoſe on him harder Conditions, and to make Peace by his Mediation with the Emperor, which could not be effected without the Reſtitution of *Verona* to the *Venetians*. And the King of *Spain*, by the Advice of M. *de Cheures*, by whoſe Authority, being as yet but fifteen Years of Age, he was wholly governed, did not refuſe to accommodate his Reſolutions to Times and Neceſſities. *A. D.* 1516.

THERE aſſembled therefore at *Noyon*, on the Part of the King of *France*, the Biſhop of *Paris*, the Grand Maſter of the Houſhold, and the Preſident of the Parliament of *Paris*; and on the Part of the Catholic King, the ſaid M. *de Cheures*, and the Grand Chancellor of the Empire. While *Lautrech* expected the Event of this Congreſs, the Soldiers, according to the Cuſtom of the Military in our Age, were continually Congreſs at *Noyon*.

A. D. 1516. continually employing their Arms againſt the unhappy Peaſants. For while *Lautrech*, after laying a Bridge at the Country Seat of *Monzarbanio*, was employed in cutting off the Corn in the Fields of the Territory of *Verona*, and in ſcouring all the Country with his light Horſe, and a Part of his Troops, quartered in the *Mantouan*, did ſuch vaſt Damage to that Country that the Marquis of *Mantoua*, to free himſelf from the Trouble of Quarters, was content to pay the General Twelve Thouſand Crowns, the Garriſon of *Verona* made daily Incurſions into the *Vicentine* and *Padouan*, and plundered the miſerable City of *Vicenza*. *Lautrech*, however, afterwards being ſtimulated by the moving Complaints of the *Venetians*, paſſed the *Adice* by the Bridge laid at *Uſolingo*, and having made a vaſt Booty in the Country, becauſe it was not in the leaſt imagined that the Army would paſs on that Side, came before *Verona* with an Intent to lay cloſe Siege to it, having in the mean time with the Aſſiſtance of the Men of the Country taken Poſſeſſion of *Chiuſa*, in order to render more difficult

the

the Paſſage of the Succours which might be ſent from *Germany*. But the very Day that he approached *Verona* the *German* Infantry, either voluntarily, or at his ſecret Inſtigation, though they had been maintained three Months at the Coſt of the *Venetians*, proteſted they would not, where the principal Intereſt of the King of *France* was not concerned, fight againſt any Town in the Poſſeſſion of *Cæſar*. *Lautrech* therefore repaſſed the *Adice*, and encamped at the Diſtance of a Mile from the Walls of *Verona*; and the *Venetian* Army, which conſiſted of Five Hundred Men at Arms, as many light Horſe, and Four Thouſand Foot, not thinking itſelf ſecure on the farther Side of the River, paſſed it and joined him. *A. D.* 1516.

Treaty of *Noyon*.

AT this Juncture, the Commiſſioners of the two Kings came to an Agreement on the Fifteenth Day of *Auguſt* at *Noyon*, on the following Conditions: That between the Kings of *France* and *Spain* there ſhall be a perpetual Peace, and a Confederacy for the Defence of their Dominions againſt all Powers whatſoever: That the King

A. D. 1516. King of *France* ſhall give his Daughter, then a Year old, in Marriage to the Catholic King, and ſhall make over to her in Dowry the Right which he claims to the Kingdom of *Naples* according to the Partition formerly made by their Predeceſſors, but with this Proviſo, that till the Daughter comes to an Age fit for Matrimony the Catholic King ſhall pay every Year to the King of *France* towards her Maintenance an Hundred Thouſand Crowns; but if ſhe ſhould die before her Marriage, and the King ſhould have another Daughter, ſhe ſhall be given to the Catholic King on the ſame Conditions; and in caſe there ſhould be none, then *Renée* ſhould be given, who had been promiſed in the Treaty made at *Paris*: That if any one of theſe Ladies died in Marriage without Children, that Part of the Kingdom of *Naples* ſhall revert to the King of *France*: That the Catholic King ſhall reſtore the Kingdom of *Navarre* to its antient King within a certain Time; and, if it be not reſtored, it ſhall be lawful for the King of *France* to aſſiſt him in the Recovery of it: But this Clauſe was to be underſtood, as

the

the *Spaniards* afterwards affirmed, with the Proviſo, if that King firſt gave him ſatisfactory Evidence of his Right: That *Cæſar* ſhall have Liberty to accede to this Peace within the Term of two Months, and it ſhall be lawful for the King of *France* to aſſiſt the *Venetians* in the Recovery of *Verona*; but if *Cæſar* depoſit that City in the Hands of the Catholic King, with free Liberty to ſurrender it within Six Weeks to the King of *France* to be diſpoſed of at his Diſcretion, he ſhall receive of *Francis* an Hundred Thouſand Crowns, and the like Sum of the *Venetians*, Part of it at the Time of Surrendry, and the reſt within Six Months, and ſhall moreover be acquitted of about Three Hundred Thouſand Crowns received of King *Lewis*, when they were in Confederacy; and that in ſuch a Caſe there ſhall be a Truce between *Cæſar* and the *Venetians* for Eighteen Months: And that *Cæſar* ſhall remain in Poſſeſſion of *Riva di Trento* and *Rovere*, with all that he poſſeſſes at preſent in *Friuli*; and the *Venetians* continue to hold the Caſtles belonging to *Cæſar* which they keep at preſent, till the Kings of *France* and

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A. D. 1516. and *Spain* ſhall have decided the Differences between them concerning their Frontiers. Both Parties nominated the Pontiff.

Verona beſieged. THE Agreement made at *Noyon* did not prevent the *Venetians* from continually ſolliciting *Lautrech* to lay Siege to *Verona*, for they were uncertain whether the Emperor would accept the Peace, and they were deſirous to recover it the ſooner by Force of Arms becauſe of the Quantity of Money they were to pay. On the other Part the King of *France* was better pleaſed with an Agreement than Force, for the Eſtabliſhment of the Peace with *Cæſar*. *Lautrech*, however, had no Excuſe left, for the *Venetians* had made great Levies of Foot, and made all the Proviſions that he had demanded, and the *Germans* no longer refuſed to march with the reſt, and therefore complied with their Deſire. The Armies then paſſed the *Adice* ſeparately, one by a Bridge laid above the City, the other by a Bridge laid below. The *French* poſted themſelves at *Tomba*, and planted Part of their Artillery againſt the Gate of

Santa

Santa Lucia, and the reſt, with the *German* Infantry, before the Gate of *San Maſſimo*, to play all on the Place where the Wall between the Cittadel and the City comes to join with the Wall of the Town, that, by making practicable Breaches for entering the City and Cittadel at once, the Defendants might be neceſſitated to divide themſelves into two Parties ſeparated by a Length of Wall. The *Venetian* Army paſſed the *Adice* below *Verona* into the *Campus Martius*, and poſted itſelf at *San Michele* between the River and the Canal, with a Deſign to ruin the Defences on that Side, and to batter the Works towards *Biſhop's* Gate, as the weakeſt and leaſt fortified Place. In the two firſt Days they ruined with their Cannon the Defences, which were of conſiderable Strength; and the Batteries of the *Venetians* playing in Flank, though with greater Difficulty, deſtroyed the Outworks of three Baſtions, on which they began on each Side to batter the Wall with eighteen heavy Cannon, and fifteen of a proper Size for Battery; and on the third Day each Army had made a Breach in the Wall of Seventy Braces, and

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A. D. 1516. and continued battering to make the Breaches much larger. But the *Venetians*, on whoſe Side the Wall was weaker, tho' they had in a manner levelled the Baſtions and their Ramparts, yet they had not entirely deſtroyed the inner Defences that flanked them, for being ſo low, and almoſt within the Ditch, the Bullets either went over them, or buried themſelves in the Earth before they came at them. At the ſame Time they undermined the Wall, which, though it was underpropped, fell before the Time deſigned by the Generals. In *Verona* were Eight Hundred Horſe, Five Thouſand *German* and Fifteen Hundred *Spaniſh* Foot, all under the Command of *Marc' Antonio Colonna*, who was no longer in the Service of the Pope but of *Cæſar*. The Beſieged were very diligent in caſting up Ramparts, providing for their Defence wherever it was neceſſary, and making a ſtout and reſolute Reſiſtance, highly to the Honour of *Marc' Antonio*, who being wounded, though but ſlightly, by a Muſket Ball in the Shoulder, was never wanting, at any Hour of the Night as well as Day, to expoſe himſelf to all manner of Fatigues and Dangers. The

Batteries

Batteries of the *French*, which were erected against the four Places where the Towers ſtood between the Gate of the Cittadel and the Gate of *Santa Lucia*, had now razed the Walls to ſuch a Degree, that each of the Breaches was capable of receiving Soldiers in Line of Battle; and the Cannon of the *Venetians* had done as much Execution. *Lautrech* however demanded more Artillery for enlarging his Batteries, and without giving Ear to the Exclamations of the *Venetians*, who were continually ſtimulating him to ſtorm the Place, was ready to embrace all Occaſions for deferring the Aſſault. And it happened for his Purpoſe that a Convoy of Waggons, loaded with Eight Hundred Barrels of Powder, and great Quantities of Ball, coming to the Army through the Plains of *Verona*, through the Fault of the Drivers, who ſtrove to get one before another, the rapid Motion of the Wheels ſtruck Fire, which lighting in the Powder blew it up, together with the Waggons and the Oxen that drew them. But the Beſieged were forced to ſtruggle with other Difficulties, for in the City,

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A. D. 1516. which had now for ſo many Months been diſtreſſed by the Neighbourhood of the Enemy, there began to be a Scarcity of Proviſions, none entering but in ſmall Quantities, and by Way of the Mountains.

The City relieved. SUCH was the melancholy Situation of Affairs in *Verona*, when there arrived Nine Thouſand *German* Foot ſent by *Cæſar* to relieve that City. Theſe Troops advancing to *Chiuſa* got Poſſeſſion of it by Agreement, and made themſelves Maſters of the Caſtle of *Corvara*, ſeated on a Hill, near the *Adice*, towards *Trent*, and ſeveral times taken and retaken in the War between *Cæſar* and the *Venetians*. On the Approach of theſe Forces *Lautrech*, ſtruck with Fear either real or feigned, raiſed the Siege, contrary to the Will of the *Venetians*, and retired to *Villafranca*, accompanied by Part of the *Venetian* Troops, the reſt, under *Gian Pagolo Manfrone*, retiring beyond the *Adice*, over a Bridge that was prepared, to *Boſeto*. The *Venetians* therefore, deſpairing of making themſelves Maſters of *Verona*, ſent all their heavy Artillery to *Breſcia*; and the *Germans*

Germans finding no Oppoſition poſted themſelves at *Tomba*, where the *French* Army had encamped before, whence Part of them entered the City, and the other which remained without was employed in introducing Proviſions into the Place, after which they departed, leaving in *Verona* a Garriſon of between Seven and Eight Thouſand *German* Foot, for moſt of the *Spaniards*, not being able to agree with the *Germans*, were, under Colonel *Maldonato*, gone over to the *Venetians*. It was the Opinion of the Public that this Relief was of no great Moment, for it brought no other Money than Twenty Thouſand *Rheniſh* Florins ſent by the King of *England*, and the Troops conſumed almoſt as great a Quantity of Proviſions while they ſtayed as they had brought with them thither. As the Forces retired to *Villafranca* were daily eating up and exhauſting the *Veroneſe* and *Mantouan*, and the *French* Troops no longer to be reſtrained by the Orders of their King from repairing to their Garriſons, the *Venetians* to keep them in the Field were obliged to ſupply them with all their ne- *A. D.* 1516.

A. D. 1516. ceſſary Food from the City of *Breſcia*, which coſt them above One Thouſand Crowns a Day.

Verona reſtored to the *Venetians*, and Peace made between them and *Cæſar*.

At laſt the Sinews of War were ſlackened, and the Courſe of Affairs manifeſtly tended towards a Peace; for Advice was received that *Cæſar*, who had at firſt earneſtly ſollicited his Nephew to make no Agreement with the King of *France*, at length ſuffering his greedy Deſire of Money to get the Aſcendent over his natural Antipathy to the Name of the *French*, and his antient Project of ſubjecting *Italy*, had accepted and ratified the Peace, and had determined to reſtore *Verona* according to the Form of the Articles of the Agreement. Hence reſulted another Event in Favour of the King of *France*; for all the Cantons of the *Swiſs*, ſeeing a thorough Accommodation effected between *Cæſar* and him, and that both Parties had laid down their Arms, were inclined to make an Agreement with him as the *Griſons* had done before, *Galeazzo Viſconti* mightily beſtirring himſelf for that End. In recompenſe for this good Office

that

that Nobleman, who was in Diſgrace with the King *, and an Exile, obtained of him Reſtoration to his Country, and in Proceſs of Time many Favours and Honours. *A. D.* 1516.

By the Convention between the King of *France* and the *Swiſs* it was agreed, that the King ſhould pay them within the Term of Three Months Three Hundred and Fifty Thouſand Ducats, and from thenceforth a perpetual yearly Penſion: That the *Swiſs* ſhould be obliged to grant Leave to the King by public Decree, whenever he ſhould require it, to inliſt into his Service a certain Number of their Foot: But in this Article the *Swiſs* proceeded differently; for the Eight Cantons obliged themſelves to lend their Troops even when the King acted offenſively againſt the States of others, but the Five Cantons no otherwiſe than for the Defence of his own Dominions: That it ſhould be in the Power of the *Swiſs* to reſtore to the King of *France* the Caſtles of *Lugano* and *Lucerna*, ſtrong Paſſes, and Convention between the King of *France* and the *Swiſs*.

* Orig. *in Contumacia del Re*, outlawed by the King.

A. D. 1516. and of Importance to the Security of the Dutchy of *Milan*; and that if they ſhould chuſe to reſtore them, the King ſhould be bound to pay them Three Hundred Thouſand Ducats: But as ſoon as the Convention was made, the *Swiſs* demoliſhed theſe Caſtles.

1517. THESE were the Tranſactions in *Italy* during the Courſe of the Year 1516; but in the Beginning of the next Year the Biſhop of *Trent* came to *Verona*, and offered to *Lautrech*, with whom he had a Conference between *Villafranca* and *Verona*, to reſign that City, which, he ſaid, he held in the Name of the King of *Spain*, to the King of *France* within the Term of Six Months appointed by the Articles. But a Difficulty remaining, whether the Term was to begin from the Day of the Ratification of *Cæſar*, or from the Day when it was acknowledged to be held for the King of *Spain*, ſome Days were ſpent in diſputing the Point. But the Troops at *Verona*, demanding their Pay in a tumultuous Manner, conſtrained the Biſhop of *Trent* to haſten the Proceedings:

ceedings: Wherefore dating the Beginning of the Term from the Day in which *Cæſar* had given him Commiſſion, he agreed to reſign *Verona* on the Fifteenth Day of *January*, at which Time having received of the *Venetians* the firſt Fifty Thouſand Ducats, and Fifteen Thouſand more, which according to the Convention were to be paid to the Troops in *Verona*, and of *Lautrech* a Promiſe that the Artillery in *Verona* ſhould be conveyed to *Trent*, he conſigned that City to *Lautrech*, who received it in the Name of the King of *France*, and immediately after, in the Name of the ſame King, conſigned it to the *Venetian* Senate, and, for them, to *Andrea Gritti* the Proveditor. But inexpreſſible was the Joy and Satisfaction of the *Venetian* Nobility and People for having at laſt ſeen a happy End of ſo long and dangerous a War, tho' after infinite Coſts and Trouble, for, as ſome of their Hiſtorians aſſure us, they expended in the whole War ſince the League of *Cambray* no leſs than five Millions of Ducats, of which Five Hundred Thouſand were raiſed by the Sale of Places. Incredible

A. D. 1517.

alſo

A. D. 1517. alſo were the Rejoicings of the *Veroneſe* and of all the other Cities, and People within the Juriſdiction of the Republic, ſince they now promiſed themſelves, from the Benefit of Peace, to enjoy Reſt and Quiet, and to be freed from that World of Vexations and Calamities, under which they had for a long Time ſo miſerably ſuffered, ſometimes from one and ſometimes from the other of the contending Parties.

The End of the Twelfth Book,

and of the Sixth Volume.

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